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BIOGRAPHICAL
MEMOIRS
OF
THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

By JOHN ADOLPHUS, F.S.A. *K*

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, JUN. AND W. DAVIES,
IN THE STRAND.

1799.

THE BRANCH RESOLUTION

BY JOHN A. HODGES

IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK

PRINTED BY J. H. MASON



NEW YORK

1850

TO
THE RIGHT HONORABLE
WILLIAM WINDHAM,
SECRETARY AT WAR, &c. &c.

SIR,

I FEEL the highest satisfaction in having the honour of dedicating these Biographical Memoirs to you, whose early discernment of the real tendency, and uniform opposition to the progress of French Principles, have entitled you to the gratitude of your Country, and to the admiration of Europe.

I have the honor to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

JOHN ADOLPHUS.

WARREN-STREET,
Jan. 4, 1799.

THE RIGHT HONORABLE

WILLIAM WILKINSON

SECRETARY AT WAR, &c.

SIR,

I have the highest satisfaction in having the
honour of dedicating these 300,000 copies
of the report to you, which will be a permanent
of the report, and a constant oppor-
tion to the progress of French principles,
have assisted in the formation of your
Country, and in the administration of Europe.

I have the honor to be

SIR,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

JOHN ADOLPHUS

WILKINSON

Vol. 4, 1793

P R E F A C E.

THE Plan of this Work is to sketch the Lives of the principal actors in the French Revolution, and to trace the influence of individuals in producing events which have filled the world with astonishment, and for which historical parallels are fought in vain. It is also no less the object of these Memoirs to shew the nature, spirit, and tendency of those principles which contributed to the success of sanguine innovators, who, under a pretence of ameliorating the condition of mankind, meditated the subversion of social order.

I was first induced to undertake this Work from observing the general system of misrepresentation which has prevailed in describing the characters of those who have acted conspicuous parts in the French Revolution. Writers friendly to the cause have laboured to justify the promoters of it, not by demonstrating the purity or propriety of their views, but by an unlimited censure of their opponents. Succeeding factions have adopted the same line of conduct towards their predecessors. Language and invention have been exhausted in terms of abuse and modes of crimination.

On the other hand, some have assumed the task of being their own Biographers; and, with a shameless disregard of truth and decency, have lavished on themselves and on their co-operators all the eulogies which could be claimed by wisdom, virtue, disinterestedness, and pure patriotism.

From such publications real information can rarely be derived; if the narrators have afforded means of tracing the progress of their own conduct from year to year, they have seldom presented true motives of action, or faithfully displayed their ultimate views. The biographical works which have appeared in the course of the French Revolution are, therefore, not to be implicitly depended on, but can only obtain a partial credit, by a comparison with cotemporary narratives and with the history of the times.

And yet it is from these sources that most of the writers who have defended the Revolution have drawn their materials, implicitly crediting all the unjust aspersions which the enemies of Monarchy have cast on the King and Queen, and on their adherents, and relying on the interested and partial accounts which the Regicides have given of their own conduct and party. They have also frequently exaggerated what they found; and as they seldom precisely quote their authorities, they have imposed on many, whom want of leisure or facility of disposition have prevented from pursuing the proper means of detection.

I have made it my business faithfully and diligently to examine both sides of the question; to select, combine, and compare the discordant accounts of the same transaction; to weigh the motives which various parties have assigned for their own conduct and that of their opponents; and to draw such probable results as were warranted by circumstances and authorities.

To avoid every imputation of intended error, I have made it an invariable rule to advance no assertion for which I have not produced my authorities. Without this precaution my work would have had no claim to a different estimation from those political romances which are daily obtruded on the world under the names of history and biography.

It is a singularity in the times which have engaged my attention, that the lapse of a few years has disclosed

closed so many latent springs of action, that what has usually formed the research of subsequent generations, and been slowly produced under the name of secret history, now stands unveiled, and the diligent inquirer may be gratified with a full disclosure of the private motives, as well as the public conduct of those who, during a most interesting period of the French Revolution, directed the helm of affairs, and engaged the attention of mankind.

The nature of the information thus to be obtained has formed, with respect to time, the limit of my present undertaking. During the early periods of the Revolution, and until the latter end of the year 1794, the asperity of crimination and the zeal of defence produced innumerable publications, in which the authors, vindicating themselves and stigmatizing their adversaries, revealed those important facts which, in times of more temperate discussion, would have been studiously secreted from the public eye. After the fall of Robespierre, the French Government gradually lost its appearance of open violence, to assume the characteristic of mysterious tyranny. Violent factions were no longer suffered to insult and defy each other in the halls of legislature, in clubs, and in abusive journals; but the prevailing party, by means of spies, military terror, and the suppression of all publications that did not extol their conduct in every particular, succeeded in casting a veil over their motives of action, which, while impunity can be secured, and till some, perhaps not far distant, Revolution shall expose the mysteries of their iniquity, will effectually baffle the research of the biographer. To the historian, a task less difficult remains; he may, without describing the precise line of conduct pursued by every individual, speak in terms of appropriate abhorrence of the tyranny and hypocrisy of the Government: he may pourtray with the energy of indignant virtue, the fraud, rapacity,

city, cruelty, and general profligacy of that system which exposes a nation, eminent in the social arts, in politeness, and in every branch of useful and elegant knowledge, to general detestation, and renders those, whom situation and science have qualified to enlighten and protect, the scourge and stigma of the human race.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF

LOUIS XVI.—THE QUEEN—THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH—AND THE DAUPHIN.

THE experience and records of all ages have demonstrated, that success and prosperity are not invariably attached to merit and virtue; but it seldom occurs that the practice and pursuit of the most laudable principles are the cause of the most dreadful and unmerited calamities.

The life of Louis XVI. affords a remarkable instance of this unusual fatality. It displays a monarch devoted to his people, animated by the purest patriotism and benevolence, enforcing every social duty by his own example, yet pursued by the most barbarous calumnies, overwhelmed with the most unheard-of indignities, imprisoned, dethroned, murdered, denied the honours of sepulture, his reputation studiously sullied, and his name malignantly stigmatised.

The system of obloquy so invariably pursued against this unhappy and truly aimable sovereign, has been attended with so much effect, that he is generally considered as confined in his intellects, limited in his education, frivolous in his pursuits, insensible to dishonour, the slave of sensuality, without genius, courage, or veracity. From the pub-

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lications of the best informed and most impartial historians, from the reluctant confessions of his adversaries, and from the evidence of authentic facts, I shall endeavour to controvert this opinion, and to represent Louis the friend and model of virtue, the victim of intrigue and persecution. Several well-informed historians have borne testimony to the virtues of this unfortunate monarch, and have displayed his motives in their proper light; but I have not relied entirely on their narratives; I have surveyed the contrary side, and, in order to establish truth, have explored the source of calumny, and investigated, as accurately as possible, the origin of every slander.

Parents
of Louis
XVI.

The father of Louis XVI.^a, who never came to the throne, was a prince remarkable for his virtue, knowledge, and conjugal fidelity. His life and manners were at once a reproof and counterpoise to the profligacy of the court of Louis XV. By his first wife, Maria Theresa, Infanta of Spain, whom he tenderly loved, he had but one daughter, who died two years after her mother. By his second wife, Marie Josephe, daughter of Frederic Augustus, elector of Saxony, and king of Poland, he had two sons before the birth of Louis; one of whom, the duke of Aquitaine, lived but five months, and the other, whose title was duke of Burgundy, died at a very early age.

23d Aug:
1754.
Birth.

Shortly after the duke of Aquitaine's death, the court being at Choisi, and the dauphiness left almost alone at Versailles, she was unexpectedly seized with labour-pains, and delivered. The only witnesses of the birth were the chancellor, the keeper

^a This account of the early life of Louis XVI. is principally taken from "Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI." Paris 1791. — "Vie du Dauphin, Pere de Louis XVI.;" and "Eloge historique et funebre de Louis XVI. par M. Montjoye." To this last publication I have been much indebted, and in the course of this narrative, where no other authority is given, I have drawn my information from Montjoye.

of

of the seals, the comptroller-general, and the marquis de Puyfieux. None of the princes of the blood were present, and many of the officers of state, who ought to attest the nativity of a royal infant, were not there; thus the birth, like the death of Louis, was premature, and deprived of its due honours and ceremonies.

The young prince was baptized LOUIS-AUGUSTE, Education, and received the title of duke of Berri. He was educated with the utmost care; his preceptor was the bishop of Limoges, and his governor the duke de la Vauguyon. In these appointments his parents shewed no less judgment than affection, and were singularly assiduous in the instruction of the young princes, and strict in the enforcement of proper discipline. Louis manifested, in his infancy, an excellent disposition; he was fond of instruction, tractable, submissive, respectful, and acute; but he evinced that backwardness in displaying his acquisitions, by which he was always afterwards characterized. The death of the duke of Burgundy, which might have been expected to operate unfavourably, tended to the advancement of his education. His father and mother, now considering him heir-apparent of the crown, redoubled their care, and divided between them the task of instructing him. With these advantages of tuition, besides those derived from his masters, the young prince could not fail to make considerable progress; he took great delight in study, and was heard to say, when a child, that the time which he employed in receiving instruction always appeared to him shorter than any other. He was so eager to gain information, that he said one day to his tutors, "How happy should I be to learn something my papa does not know." Such was the prince whom malice and prejudice have represented as ignorant and incapable of application; yet the list of his acquirements would put to shame most of those who repeat

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repeat such reproaches with all the confidence of exulting superiority. He understood Latin remarkably well, and English was familiar to him. He was well versed in history, mathematics, the *Belles-Lettres*, and politics; and his knowledge of geography was so extensive, that he is acknowledged by madame Roland, who, though her judgment may be questioned, cannot be suspected of partiality, to have been the best geographer in his kingdom. He had a ready and tenacious memory; was extremely assiduous; read slowly and carefully, and constantly made notes or extracts of striking or useful passages.

Reserve.

The modesty, or rather timidity, which marked his youth was contrasted, so unfavourably for him, by the frankness and good humoured gaiety of his brothers, the count de Provence (now Louis XVIII.) and the count d'Artois, that he was much less beloved by the courtiers than he had a right to expect; and from the manner in which they reported and commented on his words and actions, he was compelled to adopt a reserve which even amounted to a hesitation in his delivery, that seemed to announce fear and suspicion.

Amusements.

In his amusements Louis displayed that love of the useful and agreeable, which in the eye of candour would appear among the brightest presages of his youth. He was fond of agriculture, and had a respect even for those who laboured manually in that useful occupation. He understood, and judiciously promoted the mechanic arts. He, in common with most other persons of high rank in France, had a lathe, and amused himself in turning; he is said to have excelled in making locks, and to have been singularly inquisitive about every mechanical invention. These, it must be re-

^a Appel à l'Impartiale Postérité, vol. ii. p. 6.

^c Bertrand's Private Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 21. Life of Dumouriez, vol. ii. p. 171. Appel, &c. vol. ii. p. 6.

collected,

collected, were his relaxations, and as such, were not merely justifiable by comparison with other pursuits in themselves criminal or immoral, but were in the highest degree laudable. They ennobled, by example, those employments which teach patience and perseverance; they took off the contempt which haughty ignorance had applied to them; and they inspired an honest pride and patriotic emulation in those whom necessity compelled to follow those valuable arts.

When Louis had attained his eleventh year, he was deprived, by death, of the benefit of his father's instructions. The brilliant prospect opened by this event had no charms for the young prince; his filial affection rendered him insensible to the views of grandeur, and for some time he felt a renewal of his grief at being distinguished by the title of dauphin.

Death of
the dau-
phin.

The habits of Louis XV. corresponded so ill with the sentiments inspired by education in his successor in expectancy, and the persons who formed the court of the monarch were so little agreeable to the taste of the prince, that he was content to veil his disgust under the semblance of apathy. He was willing to appear dull and ignorant to those with whom vice was the only proof of wit, profligacy the only test of knowledge. This restraint, so early practised, and so rigidly adhered to, gave to its possessor an appearance of increased embarrassment and suspicion, and prevented his obtaining credit for that candour and integrity which were his real characteristics.

The person of Louis has been no less misrepresented than his mind. A female author, who began a pretended history of the revolution, has described the king as sufficiently ugly to disgust his consort, and almost excuse those excesses which she so copiously and falsely attributes to the queen^d. The

Person of
Louis.

^d Mrs. Wollstonecraft's History of the Revolution, p. 133.

correctness of her report might be fairly questioned from the tenor of her whole performance, which is a mere rhapsody of libellous declamations, in which the facts are admitted without examination, and put together without consistency; but a better refutation arises from the reports of those who well knew the late king, and from the portraits of him published under the best authorities*. The following description of him by M. Montjoye, I have every reason to think, is in general correct†: “Louis
 “ was endowed with a good constitution, and with
 “ an extraordinary share of corporeal strength. His
 “ height was five feet five inches‡. He carried his
 “ head with dignity. His forehead was large, and his
 “ features strongly marked; he had rather a down-
 “ cast, though a steady look. His eyes were blue and
 “ large; he had full cheeks, a well-proportioned
 “ mouth, and regular teeth; his lips were somewhat
 “ thick, like those of most of the Bourbons, and his
 “ skin remarkably white. In the latter years of his life
 “ he grew rather corpulent; but this embonpoint be-
 “ came him, and gave to his gait a degree of firm-
 “ ness equally remote from awkwardness and ne-
 “ gligence. Though naturally lively, he seldom
 “ laughed aloud, and those who were not admitted
 “ on a footing of familiarity, thought him serious
 “ and reserved. Even at the time when he ad-
 “ dicted himself to violent exercise, which his con-
 “ stitution rendered necessary, he was always sober,
 “ Till his accession to the throne he drank nothing
 “ but water; he afterwards mixed it, but never
 “ drank wine alone, except now and then, after
 “ meals, when he sopped a bit of bread in foreign
 “ wine.” I have been more particular in stating

* See, particularly, one in Bertrand's Memoirs published from an original portrait.

† Eloge, p. 324.

‡ French measure—equal to upwards of five feet ten inches English.

these facts, because amongst the vices with which slander sullied the name and memory of this unfortunate prince, gluttony and the love of drinking stand conspicuous. Even Dumouriez, the pretended royalist, asserts that the corrupters of his youth, in order to degrade his character, "inspired him with *factitious vices*, such as anger and the love of wine^b." On the former point Dumouriez, with his usual disregard of truth and consistency, confutes himself in the very same volume, where he uses the following expressions: "The world is much deceived in respect to the character of this prince, who has been described as a violent and choleric man, who swore frequently, and was accustomed to treat his ministers with much roughness. Dumouriez, on the contrary, ought to do him justice by observing, that during the three months he was accustomed to see him, and that too in very difficult situations, he always found him polite, mild, affable, and very patient^c." With respect to the love of wine, which Dumouriez is not ashamed to impute to him, without vouching a single instance in support of it, and which has been alleged against the king by so many shameless libellers, till a general belief of it has prevailed; it is so totally destitute of foundation, so absolutely void of sanction from those authors who either knew the king or had any regard for veracity, that little hesitation is necessary in placing this among those efforts of calumny, by which the parasites of the *Palais Royal* endeavoured to assimilate the character of the virtuous monarch with that of the duke of Orleans^d.

At the age of fifteen, Louis espoused Marie Antoinette Josephe Jeanne of Austria, a sister of the emperor Joseph II., of the queen of Naples, and the

1770.
His marriage.

^b Life of Dumouriez, vol. ii. p. 8.

^c Ibid. p. 170.

^d See Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 233.

duchess of Parma; daughter of the emperor Francis I. by the celebrated Maria Theresa, queen of Hungary and Bohemia. This marriage was considered as the most prudent and auspicious for France which could possibly have been contracted. It seemed the harbinger of peace and felicity. "It was scarcely possible," says an elegant author, "that France ever again should be engaged in a continental war. Besides the dowry of her beauty and virtues, she brought to the kingdom the fair portion of perpetual peace with that formidable and hostile power, betwixt which and France an animosity, kindled centuries before, and frequently maintained with bitterness and rancour, had drained the best blood of both countries, and deformed the face of all Europe. This violence was now to expire for ever upon the lips of beauty, and this fortunate woman was to compose the tumult of the nations with her smile¹."

Person of
the dau-
phinefs.

The beauty of the dauphiness was indeed such as to justify these prepossessions. Envy and mendacity have not dared to deny her charms, though they have made them the foundation of the grossest calumnies. I forbear to quote those sublime efforts which describe her person with all the glow of sensibility, and avail myself of the simple tribute of friendship to give a faint sketch of the person and manners of this unfortunate princess. "Nature had formed Marie Antoinette to sit on a throne. A majestic height, a dignified beauty, a manner of holding her head, which is difficult to describe, combined to inspire respect. On those days which were set apart to receive the homage of the court, she appeared queen of the universe. Her features, without being regular, were full of charms; they were embellished by her complexion, which spread over her face a dazzling

¹ Wilde's Address to the Friends of the People, p. 9.

"brilliancy.

LOUIS XVI.—THE QUEEN, &c.

" brilliancy. The most engaging manners accom-
 " panied these charms. Nobody knew the art of
 " obliging like this princess. The most unimport-
 " ant favour conferred by her, became doubly va-
 " luable, and penetrated the mind with the most
 " lively gratitude, from the winning graces with
 " which it was accompanied."

This nuptial celebration, so auspicious in its po-
 litical results, was attended with an accident which
 embittered enjoyment, and gave rise, in the minds of
 the superstitious, to doleful presages, which time too
 fatally verified. A superb firework was prepared in
 the *Place de Louis XV.* and the concourse of specta-
 tors was so prodigious, that, in one of the adjacent
 streets, a great number of persons were squeezed
 and trampled to death. The city was filled with
 consternation, and mourning succeeded to the ge-
 neral joy.

Accident
in Paris.

On this occasion, the sympathy and benevolence
 of the innocent cause of these misfortunes, were ad-
 vantageously displayed. He sent to the lieutenant de
 police six thousand livres (262 l. 10 s.), the sum al-
 lotted for his private expences, accompanied with
 the following note: " I have heard of the misfortune
 " which has arisen from my marriage, and am pe-
 " netrated with grief. I have just received from
 " the king my monthly allowance of pocket mo-
 " ney; no more is at my disposal: I transmit it
 " to you—distribute it among the most unfortu-
 " nate." This interesting action made charity fa-
 shionable; a liberal subscription was speedily
 raised.

Benevo-
lence of
Louis.

^m *Memoires de la Duchesse de Polignac, par la Comtesse Diane de Polignac, p. 7.*

ⁿ A trifling circumstance shews the disposition of the French at the time. Much blame was imputed to the police of Paris; the *privé des marchands* was named Jerome Armand Bignon, and his neglect was stig-
 matized by the following anagram: *Ibi non rem damna gero.*

The

Popular-
ity.

The beauty and benevolence of the young couple rendered them so extremely popular, that the enthusiasm of loyalty amounted almost to idolatry. On their first appearance in Paris, the garden of the Tuilleries was filled with an immense crowd, who beheld them with insatiate eyes, who exhausted themselves in benedictions, and when weariness compelled the royal visitants to retire, deplored their absence as a privation of felicity. Their behaviour on this and every other occasion of appearing in public, increased the popular predilection. Nor were the more solid virtues wanting to complete their title to admiration: Their charitable and benevolent disposition displayed itself in numerous acts, which obtained general applause.

His con-
duct to-
wards
mad. Du
Barry.

Yet, though open to every impression of tenderness, his mind was not deficient in firmness, or incapable of strenuous exertion in the cause of virtue and good morals. His conduct towards the countess du Barry, the mistress of Louis XV., then all-powerful at court, is a striking proof of this assertion. From her recommendation flowed all honours, dignities, and preferments; for her the established rules of etiquette and ancient laws of honour were dispensed with; and to her the whole court bowed the knee with such unconditional prostration, that submission seemed natural, and dominion appeared her's by inalienable right. The young dauphin alone was exempt from this meanness. Strong in virtuous principles, and scorning to degrade his character by compliances which he justly esteemed dishonourable, he resisted every advance of the countess to obtain his notice, and was inflexible in his resolution not to countenance her, or to permit any of her relations or creatures to be about his person, or that of his consort. Her nephew had solicited the situation of principal equerry to the young prince, who, incensed at his presumption, informed the favourite,
in

in strong terms of contempt and indignation, that if her relation obtained the place, he must not attempt to approach his person, on pain of corporeal chastisement. At Compeigne, du Barry presented one of her female relations at court. After having seen the king, they went to the apartments of the dauphin, who, at the moment they were announced, was talking to a gentleman near a window. Resolved publicly to display his disgust against vice, he hardly noticed the ladies on their entrance, did not salute them as was customary on similar occasions, but continued his discourse till their departure, playing with his fingers on the panes of glass, like the keys of a harpsichord.

The young prince gave another instance, equally striking, of his inflexible adherence to the rules of propriety. The king having arranged a supper, at which the dauphiness and his mistress were to be present, the dauphin declared in person to the king, that, "though he was ready to shew every mark of respect and submission to his sovereign, yet his interest as well as his duty commanded him to preserve his wife from the approach of dishonour." With these instances of juvenile virtue and courageous resolution, is it possible to credit those accounts which depict Louis XVI. as a passive witness of his wife's irregularities, opposing them only with temporary violence, or conniving at them with uxorious stupidity?

This difference of sentiment between the monarch and the heir-apparent being generally known, imposed on the prince the necessity of more than usual circumspection. He was obliged, in order not to appear the head of a party, to affect an indifference to public affairs, to conceal his acquirements in literature and the arts, and to veil his intelligence and love of science under an appearance of levity.

But

With respect to the dauphiness.

His caution.

Hatred of
flattery.

But notwithstanding this disadvantage, his benevolent and amiable qualities obtained general esteem. The reserve and even roughness of his manner were imputed by many to a virtuous source, and met with proportionate respect. Some courtiers, endeavouring to recommend themselves by the usual means of adulation, mentioning the different titles borne by his ancestors, as *le grand*, *le bien aimé*, asked what epithet he would wish to be added to his name; indignant at their flatteries, and sensible of the indelicacy of such a question, he answered, *le sévère*.

10th May,
1774.
His accession.

The death of Louis XV. placed his grandson on the throne before he had completed his twentieth year*. The public, disgusted with the weakness, profligacy, and extravagance which had characterised the concluding years of the late reign, knew no bounds to their joy; they hailed his accession as the golden moment of reviving happiness, and the word *Resurrexit* was placed on the pedestal of the statue of their idolised monarch Henry IV.

Change of
ministry.

The first measures of his reign were calculated to justify and increase this predilection. He recalled the parliaments whom his grandfather had banished†. He removed from the ministry the duke d'Aiguillon, and the whole faction of the countess du Barry, and reposed his confidence on the count de Maurepas, a man whose age pointed him out as a fit mentor for so young a monarch. But this mea-

* During the last illness of the old king, his successor exhibited a remarkable instance of piety and charity. The following note, which he wrote to the abbé Terrai, explains and illustrates the transaction without a comment. "Mr. Comptroller-general, I beg you will immediately distribute two hundred thousand livres (87,501.) amongst the poor of Paris, to pray to God for the king. If you think this too large a sum, deduct it from the allowance of the dauphiness and myself." Anecdotes, &c. vol. i. p. 27.

† Impartial History, p. 10, &c.

sure,

sure, though founded in the most laudable motives, was not well judged; it is disapproved by writers of the best information¹, and the subsequent misfortunes of the monarch are ascribed to this unfortunate choice². Maurepas was above seventy; having been minister at the age of fifteen, he had been dismissed and banished in the prime and vigour of life, and was now, in his old age, to direct a young monarch, and govern a kingdom. He was entirely unfit for his situation, but at the same time mild, affable, and complying. He employed under him men by no means qualified for their office, remarkable rather for probity than talents; and some of them, particularly M. Turgot, extremely dangerous from a disposition to favour new systems³.

In the first council which he assembled after his accession, Louis XVI. used these words: "My greatest desire is to render my people happy."⁴ This expression denoted his genuine sentiments, and seems to have formed the grand principle of his conduct. He was early informed of the wretched state in which the finances had been left by his predecessor, and made it his great business to restore them to order by establishing a system of economy. He began, like a virtuous prince, by acts of self denial and privation. He refused on his accession the tribute called *Joyeux avenement*⁵; and shewed how much he preferred the prosperity of the people to the splendor of the throne, by suppressing the mousquetaires, a guard selected from the best families in the country. In this measure the king listened to the dictates of benevolence, rather than those of prudence. In suppressing this honourable guard,

The king's
economy.

¹ Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 15.

² Life of Dumouriez, vol. ii. p. 6.

³ Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 15. See also Life of Dumouriez, vol. ii. p. 6.

⁴ Anecdotes, &c. vol. i. p. 29.

⁵ Id. p. 31.

he

he weakened the throne, and took from the nobility one motive of personal attachment *. He revoked pensions which were not given in reward of some actual service, and laboured to reduce the profit of contracts. In the established troops, besides the mousquetaires, he suppressed the *Gendarmes de la garde*, the light horse, and the horse grenadiers. He afterwards abolished torture, the *droit d'Aubaine*, and the *corvées*, and gave freedom to the sale of provisions. He carried his economy to a very severe extent in his household; he suppressed one hundred and six domestic officers. He reduced to one half the number of persons employed in his chamber, discontinued the tables of all the great officers of the crown, abolished the posts of equerries, kept only one stable, and a small number of pages, and suppressed the grand falconry, the *louveterie* and *vautrait* (wolf-hunt and boar-hunt). The queen entering into the views of her husband, exercised a strict economy in her own establishment, suppressing places to the amount of nine hundred thousand livres (39,375 l.) a-year †.

His munificence.

The progress of economy, however, did not extend to the exclusion of great national objects. The aim of the monarch was to establish order in the finances, and to ease the burdens of the people; but he extended his patronage to all those works which tended to aggrandize and give splendor to the nation, and to many individuals of merit. He encouraged every undertaking which conduced to the embellishment of the capital, and to the happiness of its inhabitants. He built a new and beautiful bridge over the Seine, and had his reign been prolonged, instead of that unwholesome hospital, where the dying and the dead are heaped together, four asylums would have been built, where every proper assistance would have been afforded to indigent infirmity. Of his patron-

* Histories.

† Anecdotes, &c. vol. i. p. 133.

age of men of letters many instances are given, favourable no less to his discernment than munificence⁷. His generosity to Leonard Euler, displays at once his love of merit and zeal for his country. The formation of a powerful navy was ever a principal object of the king's solicitude; Euler had written a book on the construction and manœuvring of ships, a copy of which was presented to Louis. He read it with avidity, and declared that the author deserved the gratitude of every governor of a nation. He immediately ordered him a gratuity, which he accompanied with the most gracious compliments.

Contemplating the spirit of economy and prudential munificence which directed the whole conduct of Louis; considering his voluntary sacrifices of splendor to the good of his people, and the effects of his retrenchments, in what light are we to consider the assertion of a pretended historian, that "the court of Louis XIV. and even those of the regent and Louis XV. were parsimonious compared to that of Louis XVI.⁸?" Considering the facility

Calumnies
refuted.

⁷ Among innumerable instances of the king's benevolence to men of letters in every class, may be selected the pension he bestowed on Chamfort, his spontaneous kindness to de Belloi, author of the *Siège de Calais*, a tragedy, and his encouragement of the drama called *Esopé à la Cour*. Louis XV. had prohibited the representation of this piece, because the moralist reflected on a monarch addicted to the disgraceful vice of drinking. Louis XVI. commanded the performance, approved its moral tendency, and ordered its frequent repetition; a plain proof of the falsehood of those who accuse him of being infected with a propensity so degrading. See *Anecdotes, &c.* vol. i. p. 24. 115.

⁸ Pagès, vol. i. p. 69. It is curious to trace this absurd assertion to its source. Rabaud, with that inattention to truth which distinguishes his history, says: "The pomp of the court of Louis XIV. was parsimony, when compared to the prodigality of Louis XV. and his successor." (*History of the Revolution*, p. 31.) Thus he conceals a rancorous falsehood by advancing a specious position, of which only one half is true. The expences of Louis XV. did perhaps exceed those of Louis XIV. though even that is doubtful, considering the altered value of money. But the expences of Louis XVI. were so far from exceeding what was requisite to support the decent exterior of royalty, that even malice itself, furnished with all the means of proof, could never substantiate the charge. The author of the *Impartial History*,

facility with which he resigned all those guards and officers who formed a rampart round the throne, what credit is due to an author who advances, "that
 " Louis was tenacious of power, and never parted
 " with it but with extreme reluctance, and that the
 " misfortunes of his concluding years appear to
 " have been greatly aggravated, if not in a measure
 " created, by this circumstance?" That the king was not willing to give up, unconditionally, all the prerogatives inherited from his ancestors, or to relinquish the pittance of authority reserved by the constitution, can hardly be imputed as a crime; and if those parts of the conduct of any individual, which are not criminal, are nevertheless attended with sinister consequences, it appears a daring effort of malignity to assert that he occasioned those misfortunes which obviously result from the perverseness of others. But waving the incorrectness of the inference, the allegation is contrary to fact. A person, who had much better means of information, and possessed a greater fund of candour than the author I have quoted, speaks thus of the king: "While
 " every body was busied in acquiring, he passed in

History, though obviously aware of the untruth of Rabaud's statement, by his quoting only so much of it as applies to Louis XV. (see *Impartial History*, vol. i. p. 20.) has not candour enough to investigate and display its falsity. On the contrary, in spite of conviction, he does not hesitate to advance, that "a rigid economy was not a characteristic of the court, even of Louis XVI" and that "the expensive pleasures of the queen, and the uncommon splendour of the court, served rather to PROMOTE than to DIMINISH the general distress." (*Ibid.* p. 21.) Thus he tells his story in the faint style of a man who will not give utterance to truth, yet is restrained by fear from advancing unqualified falsehood. He supports his statement by an inapplicable quotation from that very author, of whose want of veracity he before seemed convinced, relating to taxes, patents, and monopolies. Last of all, the republican Pagés comes forward to shock truth, and outrage common sense and decency, by an assertion so replete with falsehood, that it seems intended only as a burlesque parody on Rabaud, and is exactly parallel with the statement in the next chapter, that Claudius was revived in the king, and Messalina in the queen. Pagés, vol. i. p. 73.

* *Impartial History*, vol. i. p. 8.

" review

“ review those prerogatives which he might re-
 “ nounce without weakening the authority necessary
 “ to government ; and prepared himself, without
 “ pain, to make the sacrifice.”

At the accession of Louis XVI. the queen was extremely popular. The French nation, long indignant at the domination of the countess du Barry, hailed with joy the name of queen, which seemed to give them an importance and dignity, the want of which they had long regretted. The beauty of her person, the known attachment of the king, the endearing kindnesses which youth and prosperity prompted^b, and the public heard with delight, appeared to add to the felicity and consequence of every Frenchman, who, in the bliss of his monarchy, and the splendour of the royal family, seemed to find his own. The manners of the queen were calculated to increase this prepossession. Conscious of internal dignity, and secure of her own superiority, she sought no aid from extraneous resources ; never doubting of her power to command respect, she divested majesty of all its formalities, and solicited esteem. To her it belonged to win the hearts of individuals without enslaving their minds ; to acquire, in private society, that affection which rarely accompanies popular accla-

Conduct
of the
queen.

^a Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. p. 99.

^b One of the greatest instances of this, was the manner in which the king bestowed on his consort the seat called Trianon. While dauphiness, she had often expressed a desire to possess a country-seat of her own. After his accession, the king recollecting the circumstance, offered her the two seats called *le grand*, and *le petit Trianon*, saying, “ That as those beautiful recesses had always been appropriated “ to the *royal favourites*, they could now, with propriety, belong only “ to her.” She accepted *le petit Trianon*, with a condition made in laughter, that he should only come there when invited. The first use she made of her new acquisition was to invite her husband to all entertainment there ; and she afterwards shewed great taste, and flattered him in the most sensible point, by laying out the gardens in the English style, and by building twelve cottages in the park, in which were established as many poor families. Anecdotes, &c. vol. i. p. 35. 273. See also Arthur Young’s Travels, p. 69.

mation, by the use of that condescending expression, "I am no longer queen, I am myself^c." She was the patroness of mirth and gaiety; and if the pleasures she sanctioned occasionally transgressed the limits of strict prudence, or violated the gravity of court decorum, by permitting deep play, and encouraging some slight indiscretions, such as the representation of dramatic pieces, it must not be forgotten that these were the extreme bounds to which the censure of the most rigid can extend. I am aware that this opinion has many prejudices to encounter among those whose minds have been poisoned by malignant publications, which I forbear to specify^d; and among those who rely indolently on a generally accredited report, and who do not calculate the force of slander confidently and audaciously repeated, but think that no opinion can become current without some foundation in truth. I shall not, in future, interrupt the course of narration to refute general calumnies, or to repel unfounded insinuations; but I intreat the reader to discard from his mind the acrimonious accusations of her enemies, and the feeble extenuations of pretended impartialists, and pursue attentively the course of the queen's conduct. Let him survey her fulfilling, with zeal and exemplary propriety, the most arduous duties of wife and mother, in circumstances the most trying; let him contemplate the unabated affection which constantly subsisted between her and her husband, which no sufferings could enfeeble or alienate; let him consider the resolution with which she bore up against insult, the dignity with which she submitted to misfortune; let him then examine the source of these calumnies, see how they are destitute of proof;

^c *Memoirs de la Duchesse de Polignac*, p. 17.

^d These infamous and obscene pamphlets the reader of taste or delicacy will have little inclination to peruse. A complete summary of the accusations conveyed in them will be found in *Mrs. Wollstonecraft's History of the Revolution*, p. 33—132.

and

and then judge whether such conduct can be produced in the same mind with such atrocious guilt, and whether the cause of these slanders is not sufficiently evident to prove that they are not entitled to the slightest belief.

The progress of economy had been such as to flatter the benevolent heart of the young monarch with the most encouraging hopes, when all his views were deranged, and all the good effects of his solicitude superseded by the part he was persuaded to take in the war between England and America. Without expressing any opinion respecting the justice of this contest, it is easy to demonstrate that every principle of sound policy should have united to deter the king of France from engaging in it. He himself was so sensible of this in his latter days, as to declare that advantage had been taken of his youth^o. The queen avowed herself a decided partisan of the Americans, and her influence rendered their cause fashionable¹. The young nobles of France considered America as the theatre of glory, and hastened thither to learn the art of war². They returned flushed with success, and replete with new theories of government. The political writers and speakers in France had already learned to reduce their arguments respecting America to a dilemma; either Louis was the patron of insurrection, or the defender of right, on abstract principle: if the patron of insurrection, he was a mere tyrant, who sacrificed his people to support an unwarrantable undertaking; if the defender of right, how could he shed the blood and expend the treasure of his people to support those rights in others, which they themselves ineffectually claimed?

It is not my intention to recite all the circumstances which led to the French revolution, but

1777.
American
war.

Causes of
the French
revolu-
tion.

^o Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 37.

¹ Impartial History, vol. i. p. 16. Playfair's History of Jacobinism, p. 78.

² Impartial History, ubi supra.

merely, in this place, to advert to such as personally affected the monarch, and as he himself might have obviated or remedied. It is foreign to my purpose to review the state of the country; to discuss the rights and encroachments of the different orders of the state; to fix the proportion which population held to industry and revenue; and to ascertain whether the want of an active war, and the disuse of monastic vows, contributed or not to an excess of population which banished content and facilitated insurrection. I shall not pursue the labours of those writers, called Economists, who gave rise to delusive hopes of plenty, and vented themselves in exaggerated complaints, fears, and surmises, who banished public spirit, and made the whole nation niggardly upon principle; nor shall I attack the labours of the Encyclopedists, who temerarily broached new doctrines in religion and politics, who weakened the powers of faith, and loosened the bonds of allegiance: I shall not attempt to describe the fluctuations of public opinion, and shew how far policy might have been combined with force to restore the splendour of authority, and give stability to the regal power. To unite so many views, and display the precise operation of each specific cause, would exceed the bounds and transgress the intentions of a work like this: it is the task of History.

The reforms already stated which weakened the influence of the crown, and drove from the court many whom interest, if not duty, would otherwise have rendered vigilant about the monarch; the suppression of pomp, the idol of the multitude; and most of all, the American war, which impoverished the treasury, and gave energy to factious speculation, I consider as the principal causes of the revolution. I say the principal, not the only causes; those above mentioned certainly had their share; and I have, in the course of this work, adverted to others which were no less efficient. I have displayed the exertions

and artifices of a secret confederacy, formed in the recesses of darkness and guilt, and extending its baneful influence over the greater part of Europe^a; I have descanted on the writings and sinister efforts of an ambitious minister, who was content to inflame the people and disorganize the government to favour his own private views^b; and I have not omitted to notice the giddy ambition of a prince of the blood, who aspired, without knowing the precise limits of his views, and became the tool and prey of intriguers, without having ascertained to what exact point their projects tended^c.

To the character of the duke of Orleans are principally to be ascribed the violence and malignity which distinguished the revolution. That prince, sunk in contempt, and immersed in sensuality, was not insensible to the voice of ambition; but while the queen exhibited no sign of pregnancy, he awaited, without emotion, those events which might raise himself or his descendants to the throne, and realize those hopes in which his ancestors had been disappointed^d. The selfish views which he affected to render illustrious by miscalling them ambition, were, by this event, exposed to almost certain disappointment. It destroyed all those hopes which had been so fondly cherished, and left no resource but secret calumny and open violence.

The pregnancy of the queen did not take place till she had been married eight years and a half; it was then announced to the inhabitants of Paris by an act of beneficence truly pious and royal, and which Marie Antoinette often repeated in the course of her reign. She sent to the director of the office for wet-nurses a sum of three thousand livres (131*l.* 5*s.*) to be employed in procuring the liberty of unfortunate parents, imprisoned for non-payment of the

^a See MIRABEAU.

^b See NECKER.

^c See ORLEANS.

^d Residence in France, edited by John Gifford, vol. i. p. 384.

debts contracted for their children'. Prayers for the queen were offered up in all parts of the kingdom; and several companies, military, religious, and municipal, displayed their loyalty in acts of devotion and benevolence^m.

19th Dec.
1778.
Birth of
madame
royale.

At length the queen was delivered of a daughter, who was immediately baptized by the name of Marie Therese Charlotte, and received the title of *Madame, fille du Roi*, though the prevailing custom has been to call her *Madame Royale*ⁿ. The municipal officers of Paris imitated their sovereign, by delivering from prison a great many fathers of families; and the queen herself displayed her charity in a manner no less interesting than engaging. She caused to be selected a hundred young women, poor, and of good character, from the different parishes in Paris, to each of whom she gave five hundred livres (21 l. 17 s. 6 d.) as a marriage portion; two hundred livres (8 l. 15 s.) to purchase a suit of clothes for their husbands; and twelve livres (10 s. 6 d.) for a wedding dinner^o.

23d Oct.
1781.
Birth of
the dau-
phin.

But while the queen was thus displaying the goodness of her disposition, the engines of calumny were already employed in undermining her reputation, in damping the public joy, and in depreciating the acts of benevolence which charmed the people. These efforts were more desperately renewed when the wishes of the royal family were crowned by the birth of a prince. On that occasion the public festivity was unbounded, and the royal munificence no less conspicuous than on the former occasion. The king granted an exemption from the capitation or

^l It may be necessary to inform the reader, that in Paris there was an office, where women from the country came to offer their service as nurseries; they were retained by the Bourgeoises, and if the stipulated wages were not duly paid, the nurseries had a remedy against the husbands of their employers, by imprisonment in a summary way, and without the delays incident to ordinary processes.

^m Anecdotes, &c. vol. i. p. 287. 296.

ⁿ Id. p. 303.

^o Id. p. 314.

poll-tax for a year to the poorer class of his subjects residing in the capital; liberated great numbers of prisoners for debt in the provinces; restored to their parents all those legitimate children whom distress had compelled them to leave at the foundling-hospital; paid the debts of prisoners in Paris to the amount of four hundred and sixty-four thousand livres, (20,300 l.) and discharged many who were imprisoned for crimes. The queen proposed an act of charity of the most extensive and beneficent description, but the treasury would not authorise its being carried into execution. Her project was to redeem and restore to the owners all clothes and necessaries which the poor had been obliged to pawn at the *Mont de Piété*^p. The prince, who was the subject of these rejoicings and charities, fortunately died at an early period of the revolution. His sister and younger brother were reserved to participate the disasters of their family.

The progress of the war, the freedom of political discussion, the exertions of the economists, and the arts of a resolute faction, had now produced a state of anxiety and turbulence in the public mind, which promised to forward those views which a more rigid government, and a more prosperous state of finances would have restrained. The tongue of slander now moved without restraint against the queen, who before had been the theme of applause and admiration. Her honour was assailed by the most virulent and unfounded defamations; the national animosity, which her union with France was supposed to have extinguished for ever, was revived in order to load her with imaginary crimes. She was accused of plundering the treasury of France to make remittances to her brother; as an additional insult, she was often mentioned by the odious title of *l'Autrichienne*, and her seat, Trianon, was nick-named *Le petit*

Calumnies
against the
queen.

^p Anecdotes, &c. vol. i. p. 114.

*Vienne*¹. The expences to which she subjected the nation, and the liberality of her presents to her favourites, were topics of unbounded reprobation; in a word, every want felt by the people was imputed to her ascendancy, while the king was represented as a man immersed in sensuality, indolent, and little better than an idiot. The falsity of these accusations is obvious. The queen never did, and never could squander the public money in the manner alleged. Her expences were by no means enormous, they were far inferior to those of madame du Barry; and her whole donations did not equal what Louis XIV. allowed to one of his several mistresses, mademoiselle Fontanges, who had three hundred thousand livres (13,125 *l.*) a month. It was impossible that she should have drawn money from the treasury to remit to her brother, as such a transaction must necessarily have been known to a great number of persons, and entries must have been made in various forms which would have ascertained the fact. Yet when the most strict scrutinies were afterwards made, when wealth, honour, and applause would have been the meed of discovery, no such transaction was disclosed; nor could the hardness of those who, by the aid of forgery, affected to supply such documents as truth did not afford, ever venture to bring forward the slightest written proof on the subject.

Admini-
stration of
Calonne.

The public mind was in this state when peace was made with England. Necker says, that, "in 1781, he had left the finances in perfect equilibrium, but the imposts were considerable. The king had prevented their increase, by providing from his savings an interest for loans, become indispensable to meet the extraordinary expences of the war." Perhaps so much of this observation as relates to Necker himself is questionable.

¹ Anecdotes, vol. i. n. 276.

He continues thus: "The approaching return of peace would have opened a new career to hope, had not the king entrusted the austere functions of administration to a man more worthy of being the hero of courtiers, than the minister of a king. The reputation of M. de Calonne was in contrast with the morals of Louis XVI.; and I know not by what reasonings, or by what ascendant, this prince was engaged to give a place in his council to an avowed magistrate, distinguished as an amiable man in the most elegant societies of Paris, but whose levity and principles were dreaded by all France. How often must such a determination have been repented of? Money was lavished, largesses multiplied, no instance of facility and complaisance was refused, economy was even made a subject of derision; and to give a systematic air to this inconsiderate conduct, for the first time, the assertion was hazarded, that the immensity of expence, by animating circulation, was the true principle of credit; a maxim applauded by all those who found themselves fitted to second the minister in this mode of serving the state."

It is to be recollected, that this character of M. de Calonne is given by his avowed opponent; many other authors have concurred in decrying his administration*, but it is praised by others of equal judgment and veracity†.

The grand plan of a port at Cherbourg, which was prosecuted at a vast expence during his admi-

* On the Revolution, vol. i. p. 14. I am apprehensive, that some phrases in this quotation are not correctly translated, particularly *an avowed magistrate*; but not having a copy of the work in French I cannot correct them.

† Impartial History, vol. i. p. 21. Pages, vol. i. p. 60. Rabaud, p. 36. Historical Sketch, p. 33. Life of Dumouriez, vol. ii. p. 12. Christie's Letters, p. 67. Playfair's History of Jacobinism, p. 72.

† See Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 42. Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 47. Wilde's Address, p. 319.

nistration,

nistration, would have given little umbrage to the people, but the general spirit of false economy rendered every expence a matter of complaint. The purchase of St. Cloud, and payment of the count d'Artois's debts, excited considerable clamour, and discontent was hourly increasing.

29th June
1786.
The king's
journey
to Cher-
bourg.

The construction of a port in the channel was a national object of the first importance. If successful, it would have done more towards the establishment of the French navy, than any other project in which the public money could have been expended. The king had ever had its completion at heart, and was so struck with the utility of the scheme, that for several years his closet was hung with drawings on the subject^a. The cones first sunk had been destroyed by tempests, ten new cones were prepared, and the king resolved to pay a visit to Cherbourg to see one of them navigated and sunk. His journey was a progress of benevolence^b, every thing which could endear a monarch to his people marked his conduct. He spent four days at Cherbourg, not like a man who leaves home to gratify an idle curiosity, but examining, investigating, and comparing the objects presented to his notice. The people, yet uncorrupted by the efforts of sedition, received him with acclamations and benedictions. He distributed some favours, and had intended more, but was prevented by the selfishness of the marshal de Castries, minister of marine, who had left at Paris his port-folio of intended promotions^c. On his return he was hailed with transports of joy; triumphal arches were erected, solemn services were

^a Life of Dumouriez, vol. i. p. 480.

^b One instance of his tenderness must not be omitted: a woman, wife to the jailor at Havre, threw herself at his feet, and craved pardon for three deserters then in custody. The king raised her up, saying,

"With all my heart, good woman; I wish you had interceded for four." Anecdotes, vol. i. p. 156.

^c Life of Dumouriez, vol. i. p. 488.

performed

performed in the churches, and the keys of towns, brought by the citizens in procession, were surrendered to the sovereign. The king was so delighted with these demonstrations of loyalty, that he declared, next to his consecration at Rheims, the day of his arrival at Cherbourg was the happiest of his life. The people were no less pleased, and gloried in repeating the words of their sovereign, who to their repeated acclamations of *Vive le Roi!* constantly replied, *Vive mon Peuple! Vive mon bon Peuple!* Yet this journey, so laudable in its object, so satisfactory in its result, did not escape severe animadversion. Mirabeau mentions it in disrespectful terms of censure: "A king oppresses his subjects with taxes badly organised; the day of his accession is consecrated to festivity; he makes an useless and expensive journey; on his return he passes under triumphal arches."

The virtue, the religion, the benevolence, and morals of the king, presented so few vulnerable points, that slander was at a loss on what part of his character to make an attack. The queen, equally upright in her sentiments, was less guarded in her conduct. In her calumny found an easy prey; and afterwards, being united with sedition, made a joint attack, with a view not only to injure her, but to debase the king, and vilify royalty itself^b. One principal engine of this projected degradation, was *the affair of the necklace*, in which the cardinal de Rohan was made the dupe of two intriguing adventurers, and the queen implicated, though she had not the slightest participation in the transaction. Had she wanted such a necklace, she would have bought and worn it publicly; had she required money, there was no need to recur to a secret and disgrace-

Attacks on
the queen.

The neck-
lace.

^a For a very minute and interesting account of this journey, see *Anecdotes, &c.* vol. i. p. 153.

^a *Essai sur la Secte des Illuminés.* Introd. p. 16.

^b *Moore's View*, vol. i. p. 34.

Her ex-
pences.

ful negociation, the court bankers would have gladly supplied her. But, at all events, she would never have applied to the cardinal, whom she was known to hate; or have associated with a worthless adventurer, and a woman of low birth and education, and disgusting manners*. Although those parts of this story, which tended to inculpate the queen, were never currently believed, yet they had the effect of making her conduct the topic of public examination, an event always degrading, generally dangerous. The people received, with increasing avidity, every account of her profusion, and having been led to believe, that they were miserable beyond all former example, were easily induced to impute that misery to her. That I may not return to this subject, let me once for all expose the extreme malice and futility of such complaints. The taste and elegance which accompanied every act of the queen excited much admiration; and as she had a singular grace in giving, her predilection was a source of envy, her bounty of admiration, though the one was conferred without reproach, the other without profusion. In the course of a reign of eighteen years, her expences amounted in the whole to about ten millions of livres (437,500 *l.*); of this about half a million (21,875 *l.*) was expended in buildings and decorations at Trianon, and in the purchase of St. Cloud. If from this sum we deduct six millions, (262,500 *l.*) produced by the sale of Chateau Trompette, an estate belonging to the crown, which the king made over to her use^d; the remainder, four mil-

* Anecdotes, &c. vol. i. p. 358 to 418. It is further observed on this subject, that the Memoirs of the Countess de la Motte are a mere web of fables, totally destitute of all proof, written or oral. What is worse, the woman is continually contradicting herself. The romance of the second *Memoirs* is totally different from that of the first; and the romance of the third having no resemblance to either first or second. This is the observation of M. Montjoye, which I can neither corroborate nor controvert, having read the *Memoirs* in question long ago, and without much attention. See Eloge, &c. p. 113. a.

^d Anecdotes, &c. vol. i. p. 34.

lions (175,000 *l.*) is too inconsiderable to deserve notice. In fact, the leaders of faction had established many false points which led to endless inconsistencies; they made a trifling *deficit* an evil of the first magnitude; they charged it all to the account of the royal family, whose expences were so moderate as to defy censure, and at last were reduced to the pitiful necessity of publishing the red-book, to make good by clamour against individuals what was wanting in proof of criminality, sufficiently important to interest the public.

While the public mind was agitated by panic fears and inflamed by calumny, an opposition was commenced in the parliament of Paris to the grant of supplies. Calonne was obliged to acknowledge a deficit of one hundred and twenty millions (5,250,000 *l.*); the king, unacquainted with the state of public opinion, and actuated only by his desire to relieve the distresses of his people, declared that he would have no more loans or new taxes*. The minister was obliged to convene the Notables, for whom he had prepared a plan at once dignified, constitutional, and expedient†; but the death of Vergennes occasioned delay, and weakened the influence of Calonne; an opposition against him was formed in the closet, where advantage was taken of the queen's dislike, and in the Notables, where an opposition to his measures promised both popularity and favour. His plans were rejected, he was obliged to quit the helm, and retire from France, after having been deprived of the order *du Saint Esprit*. Calonne dismissed.

De Brienne, archbishop of Thoulouse, who succeeded Calonne, after trying in vain to break the phalanx formed by faction, and to raise the necessary supplies, after encountering opposition from all quarters, and embarrassing government with almost insurmountable difficulties, abandoned a situation he was no Admini- stration of de Brienne.

* Rabaud's History, p. 38.

† Bouillé's Memoirs.

Recal of
Necker.

longer able to hold, recommending the convocation of the three estates, and the recal of Necker, the popular idol². This minister, with a rashness, presumption, and ambitious selfishness which eclipse his merits in other respects, convoked the Notables only to reject their decisions, courted the populace and the Orleans faction by the most sinister and dishonest means, organised the convocation of the three estates at a time and place which rendered an open war between the three orders inevitable, and by allowing the *tiers-etat* a double representation, insured their conquest, and prepared for the superior orders an abject degradation and inevitable extinction.

Meeting
of the
states-general.

At the meeting of the three estates the king was placed in a situation entirely new, and more embarrassing than that of any monarch before him. He had, in compliance with the wish of his people, called the States-General, yet the credit was attributed to a minister who had been obtruded on him in contradiction to his own will. He was alarmed by reports of a deficit which, though unimportant in itself, was magnified into an unlimited evil, and which he could acquire no popularity by annihilating, as its existence was falsely imputed to him. The turbulence of the *tiers-etat*, their factious proceedings against the other states, and their unremitting endeavours to embarrass government and usurp all authority; the rebellious dispositions of the Parisians; and the famine, which though in part occasioned by artful and unprincipled conspiracy, was converted into an article of accusation against the king, added to his distress, and rendered his situation still more critical. His authority was not diminished by any act formally announced, yet every exertion of it was attended with difficulty and danger. If the declaration of his will announced a popular

² See the various histories, the Lives of de BRIENNE and NECKER, and the authorities there quoted.

act,

act, the monarch acquired but a momentary applause; he was deprived of the affection which ought to have resulted from it, by a resolute band of detractors, who attributed it to the suggestion of Necker, to unavoidable necessity, or to hypocrisy: but if the act announced happened to be unpopular, which the party in opposition could at any time occasion, it was opprobriously reviled and contumaciously resisted.

The *tiers-etat* comported themselves with all the vulgar licentiousness of men unused to power, who were resolved to maintain their posts by insolence, and to extend their authorities by tyranny. They were, unhappily, but too much encouraged by the perverted populace of the capital, who, guided by a gang of daring conspirators, sanctioned every effort of usurpation, every ebullition of petulance. By them they were supported in those insolent attacks on the king, which not only retrenched his authority in the administration of affairs, but pursued him in the hour of dejection, and to the recesses of paternal sensibility, with clamorous defiance and brutal pertinacity. Thus was applause, instead of contempt, ensured to the treacherous pantomime of the Tennis-court; thus were the benevolent intentions of the monarch resisted with undisguised contumely, and stigmatized with unqualified rancour. The minister, who had advised the measure which brought the contest to its first crisis, and deserted his master when his services were most necessary, was idolized, while the confiding monarch became a victim to his suggestions, and devoted to popular odium. This state of constraint extorted from him that pathetic expression, "*Je n'ai eu, depuis quelques années, que des instans de bonheur,*"—"For some years past I have only felt a few moments of happiness^b."

Turbulence of the tiers-etat.

21st June.

23d June.

^b Moore's View, vol. i. p. 159. For details of the other facts above stated, see the Lives of NECKER, MIRABEAU, ORLEANS, and BAILLY, and the authorities there quoted.

Union of
the orders.

The most material point to the *tiers-etat* was the verification of powers and transaction of business in a common assembly. This the other two orders resisted with the resolution of men who were conscious that their existence depended on the result of the contest. The tide of popularity ran violently against them, and some treacherous individuals exhibited intentions of defection. The king, ever anxious to comply with what he considered the wish of his people, favoured the union of the orders, which he was now brought to consider as the only means of giving peace and restoring tranquillity. Some of the nobility who were most in his confidence, particularly the duc de Luxembourg, remonstrated against the measure, as pregnant with the most fatal consequences. The king, however, persevered in his determination, and disclaimed every project of resistance with that truly patriotic exclamation, "I will not suffer a single life to be lost in my cause¹." Accordingly a message was sent to the nobility, requiring them to join the *tiers-etat*, which, notwithstanding a very vigorous opposition from the viscount de Mirabeau, was complied with². Before we blame the king's conduct in this particular, it is necessary not only to appreciate the virtues by which it was actuated, but duly to weigh the difficulties of his situation, and the uncertain result, under all circumstances, of a contrary mode of proceeding. It is necessary to consider the total impossibility of restoring propriety and decorum to a legislature, one

¹ Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. i. p. 363. Moore's View, vol. i. p. 264, &c. &c. This singular clemency and aversion to bloodshed was the king's striking characteristic, and doubtless the cause of most of his misfortunes. The resolute detractors of Louis, fearful of the impression this fact must make to the prejudice of their cause, have advanced ridiculous stories about his cruelty to animals. One gives an account of his shooting a cat; to which another has added some vague assertions about torturing reptiles, and killing an ass! See Pages, vol. i. p. 131. Mrs. Wollstonecraft's History, p. 137.

² Moore's View, vol. i. p. 266, &c. &c.

of the members of which afterwards declared, "that had Henry IV. or Louis XII. reigned at the beginning of the Revolution, it would not have diminished the necessity of throwing off the royal yoke".

While the king was thus labouring, by concession, to conciliate esteem, the prevailing faction, whom every acquisition of power rendered more eager in the pursuit of their ultimate object, exerted their efforts to undermine and destroy the small share of popularity and power yet remaining to the royal family. The soldiers were seduced from their duty, and the populace inflamed and encouraged to repeated acts of violence and rebellion". The most atrocious calumnies and absurd reports were raised against the king and queen, and circulated, not only in Paris, but throughout the kingdom. The most audacious libels were openly vended, and every means resorted to which could complete the perversion of the public mind. In the seditious groups at the Palais Royal, proscriptions were issued against every one who was reputed a court favourite, particularly the count d'Artois, the prince de Condé and his family, and the duchess de Polignac. This lady incurred the displeasure of the faction, not only as a favourite of the king and queen, but from a generally believed assertion that anti-patriotic associations were formed, and that her house was their place of rendezvous. This is positively denied by the biographer of the duchess, who says, that the house of her relation was open to all the deputies". Those of a particular description would, of course, absent themselves; they had their meetings elsewhere, but none were excluded. In the provinces as well as in Paris, the

Exertions
of the fac-
tious.

¹ *Defenseur de la Constitution* par Maximilien Robespierre, p. 185.

² See ORLEANS.

³ *Memoires de la Duchesse de Polignac*, par la Comtesse Diane de Polignac, p. 28.

queen was charged with the most atrocious acts and sanguinary intentions. The chain of communication between the conspirators in the capital, and the disaffected in the country, was so regularly maintained, that the most inconsiderable villages in the kingdom were poisoned with the slanders and agitated by the fears which had been communicated to them from the junto in the *Palais Royal*°.

Measures
of the king.

Meanwhile the king discovered that every measure he adopted, far from conciliating, tended to alienate his subjects. He saw the rage of his enemies increase with their power, found himself open to every calumny, exposed to the most virulent attacks, feebly defended, and threatened with a total desertion of his troops. Under these circumstances, he determined to change his mode of proceeding, to repress licentiousness ere it acquired too great an ascendancy, and to secure the safety of the kingdom by timely exertion. He resolved to remove from Paris those troops who were disposed to relinquish all obedience, and to replace them with others who might at once protect the city, and restrain the turbulent. For this purpose an army was collected in the neighbourhood of Paris under the command of marshal Broglie. The violent members of the assembly exerted themselves in the most strenuous manner against this act of prerogative, and endeavoured to misrepresent the king's whole conduct and intentions by the most slanderous reports; but these were so unfounded in truth, and afterwards denied so positively and spontaneously by the king himself, that impartial judgment rejects the gross

Army
round Pa-
ris.

° See Arthur Young's *Travels*, p. 119. 151. 161. 163. And for a remarkable specimen of these slanders, see *Lettre d'un Français sur les Moyens qui ont opéré la Revolution*, p. 11, 12. where an account is given of a pretended letter written by the queen to Delaunay, governor of the Bastille, and intercepted, in which were these words: "The most glorious day of my life will be that when I shall wash my hands in the blood of Frenchmen."

and

and improbable fallacy'. Whatever might be the views of the monarch, they were completely defeated by the indiscretion of marshal Broglie. He crowded his infantry into three or four little camps in the vicinity of Paris, exposed to the seduction of women of the town, to the temptation of good cheer, and the blandishments of the *Palais Royal*. His cavalry and large artillery were disposed in a manner equally injudicious; and his whole position was calculated to defeat the purposes of his encampment'. The court, however, unacquainted with these disadvantages, announced a change of ministers, which accelerated the plans of the insurgents, and occasioned the capture of the Bastille, and the other events which are generally considered as the commencement of the revolution'. Change of
ministry.
Revolu-
tion.

When the king was informed of these fatal transactions, he took, without delay, such measures as he considered most judicious for allaying the popular ferment. He delivered himself, without hesitation, to the protection of that assembly which had yet only existed to degrade, brave, and insult him. He appeared among them without ceremony or attendance, addressed them in terms of conciliation and tenderness; he convinced them how innocent he was of any hostile designs, and immediately ordered the troops to be withdrawn. The next day he consented to the recal of Necker; and the triumph of the factious was complete'. Say, detractors of this unfortunate monarch, was it fear, was it the base desire of preserving a degraded and precarious existence, or was it that dread of occasioning the blood-shed of his ungrateful subjects, from which all his sufferings proceeded, that now actuated his conduct? That it Conduct of
the king.

^p Memoire de Lally Tollendal, p. 75. quoted in Historical Sketch of the French Revolution, p. 183.

^q Life of Dumouriez, vol. ii. p. 41.

^r See ORLEANS.

^s Impartial History, vol. i. p. 135, &c. &c.

Emigra-
tions.

was not fear is manifest from the resolution he adopted, in despite of every remonstrance, to visit the capital, the very den of his ferocious enemies, in person; and to expose, without defence, a life which he could never be induced to secure by endangering the life of another^t. But that fear which he was incapable of feeling for himself, he expressed in the most benignant manner for his friends whose lives were threatened. He preferred divesting himself of the assistance and society of his most affectionate adherents, to the act of retaining them at the risk of those horrible events which had already stained Paris with blood, and to which the proscriptions of the *Palais Royal* obviously pointed. He insisted on the departure of the count d'Artois, the duke and duchess of Polignac, and several other persons whose services and fidelity had endeared them to him and the queen. He added his commands to her entreaties, and finally prevailed on them to abandon a country which they considered only under the influence of a temporary phrenzy, and to which they hoped speedily to return in safety and peace^u.

17th July.
King's vi-
sit to Paris.

Cheerless and dreary was the king's progress from Versailles to Paris; uncomfortable the aspect of every object on his approach. The journey was undertaken in contradiction to the suggestions of prudential advice, and the pleadings of connubial tenderness. The recent events, the confirmed domination of a party who wished his destruction, the absence of his friends, and the triumph of his enemies, shed over the mind of the king that dejection which displayed itself in spite of every effort. Paleness altered his countenance, sorrow cast a shade over his features, melancholy marked the brow of suffering majesty. He surveyed the spectators with an eager gaze, and smiled at those he recollected; but

^t Impartial History, vol. i. p. 142, &c. &c. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 76.

^u Memoires de la Duchesse de Polignac, p. 32, 33.

with

with a smile which ill concealed the anguish of his soul*. The unusual cry of *vive la nation!* while that of *vive le roi!* was suppressed by order of la Fayette; the refusal to permit the *gardes-du-corps* to enter the city, and the delivery of the king to the national guard, who formed a triple row on each side his carriage, were inauspicious circumstances. His passage to the *hotel de ville*, under a long arch of pikes and naked swords, the insolent speech of Bailly, and the compelled assumption of the national cockade, were mortifications equally new and degrading†. Yet the sincere patriotism of the king, his love for the people, and the genuine candour and goodness of his disposition, at length vanquished enmity, and melted fullness. The pathetic emotion with which he pronounced the words, "My people may always rely upon my affection," and his appearance at the window of the *hotel de ville*, adorned with the newly adopted badge of patriotism, diffused general joy; the cry of *vive le roi!* could be no longer restrained. The returning love and confidence of his people, restored tranquillity and joy to the monarch, and sent him to Versailles with every appearance of content and satisfaction‡.

The assembly, now freed from all restraint, and influenced by a faction which had views the most hostile to the person and dignity of the monarch, no longer preserved any decency or respect in their proceedings. They made the most wanton attacks on property of every kind; and while they were incessantly clamorous about the miseries of the kingdom, and the insubordination of the people, took no step to repress licentiousness or strengthen the

Conduct of
the assembly.

* Impartial History, vol. i. p. 143, &c. &c. Conjuratıon de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 81.

† Pagès, vol. i. p. 167.

‡ See BAILLY and ORLEANS.

* Impartial History, vol. i. p. 145. Rabaud's History, p. 114, &c.

hands of government. On the contrary, they rescinded the proposed advantages of loans till they failed for want of subscribers; they shewed, in all their debates, a marked distrust and contempt for the king^b; and when complaints were made of the murders committed, a popular member, Barnave, asked, with a sneer, "If the blood which had been shed was so remarkably pure?"

Treatment
of the king.

4th Aug.

Yet these violences, while unresisted, failed of producing the effects expected by the conspirators; they felt the necessity of creating an opposition real or fictitious, and using it to aid their calumnies and treasonable machinations. For this purpose they passed, without deliberation, a series of decrees by which all the property in the kingdom, ecclesiastical and civil, was invaded, and pressed the king to sanction them without delay; which, after some remonstrance, he did; and thus their first attack was parried^c. After this, the assembly passed a declaration of the rights of man, and some few articles of a new constitution, which the king, considering them only as parts of a larger work, declined sanctioning, till he saw their application to some consistent, uniform whole, and retained them in his possession, without expressing his decided approbation or disapprobation. This was immediately converted into a ground of opposition and virulent abuse. Mysterious reports were circulated of the most alarming tendency, of a project to carry off the king, dissolve the assembly, and enslave the nation. Such schemes are demonstrated to have been impossible, from the invin-

^b See particularly the debates on the declaration of the rights of man, on the *veto*, on the king's inviolability, and on the succession to the crown.

^c Historical Essay on the Ambition and Conquests of France, p. 232, where the fate of this incendiary is thus described: "BARNAVE was persecuted for a long time, driven from place to place, and at last seized and executed. Thus he expiated with his own blood that cruel answer he had made to Lally, when exclaiming against the murders of Berthier and Foulon."

^d Impartial History, vol. i, p. 217. Debates.

cible obstacles which would have opposed the king's flight from Versailles, and from his total want of money, which he could only have drawn from Paris*. To these suggestions were added the untrue reports of the *orgies* of the *gardes-du-corps*, and the threats of immediate famine, in order to raise the mob of Paris, and achieve the conquest and debasement of the king.

Such were, in general, the causes which led to the horrible outrages of the fifth and sixth of October, which are described under another head†. It is only necessary here to mention the conduct and situation of the royal family. The king, totally ignorant of what was passing at Paris, which undoubtedly was not the case with the leading conspirators in the assembly, had been pressed to sanction those decrees which he had before reserved for consideration; and, on that day, returned an answer expressed in the most prudent and moderate terms‡. It produced a great emotion; and the impartial public, if its voice had not been forcibly suppressed, would have approved it§. The assembly, however, received it with insolence and disdain, and insisted on the immediate and unqualified sanction. The king, in the mean time, went to Meudon, to enjoy the diversion of hunting, in which he was engaged, when an express came to inform him of the arrival of the mob from Paris to demand bread. "Alas!" he exclaimed, "if I had it I should not wait to be asked." He resolved immediately to return; when a chevalier de St. Louis, aware of the danger of his situation, exhorted him not to fear. "I never was afraid in my life," was the monarch's reply. Though there is little reason to doubt that the instigators of this horrible scene had in contemplation the murder of

5th Oct.
Conduct of
the king;

* Sur l'Administration de M. Necker, par lui même, p. 196.

† See ORLEANS.

‡ APPENDIX, No. I.

§ Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. p. 255.

the king, still the spirit of loyalty was not yet so entirely extinct that they durst openly profess it. But the arts of calumny had been so successful that they were under no such restraint with respect to the queen. Her they reviled with the most opprobrious appellations, and stigmatized with the most odious crimes. Against her they vented threats which would make the heart of humanity shudder, in terms which to repeat would insult the ear of modesty. When the king returned to Versailles, he found the position of affairs much more alarming than he had been taught to expect. He found the city inundated with a clamorous and sanguinary mob, the court under the agitation of terror, and the council partaking in the general alarm. It was proposed, in council, that the royal family should be removed; but that proposition being over-ruled¹, the queen

of the
queen;

¹ Much has been said by those writers who insist on the king's insincerity respecting his carriages being brought out, from which an intended escape is strongly inferred. In explanation of this transaction, I shall cite the words of an intelligent cabinet minister and eye-witness: "The king's private opinion was to await the storm; and if it had been intended to conceal this truth, the officers on duty with the king ought to have been forbidden repeatedly to assert, that they heard him pacing across his apartment, and several times exclaiming, with a sentiment of repugnance and indignation, A fugitive king! A fugitive king!—He determined, however, to order his carriages; but the traces having been cut or taken away by the people of Versailles, who wished at all hazards to oppose the departure of the court, fresh doubts arose, and a second consultation was resolved upon. Within the palace there was a general agitation; and the queen, in the space of a few hours, held two directly contrary opinions. The king, surrounded and preceded by his guards, would, I think, have overcome any resistance from the people; but the excellent disposition of the prince would not allow him to be the occasion and witness of a tumult where the effusion of blood would probably be inevitable. However, at a time and in circumstances where even the king's person might be exposed, it is evident that he must necessarily decide for himself, and he resolved to remain at Versailles." Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. p. 261. From this narrative it appears, that though the king would not impede the departure of his family, and would even have departed himself, had the prevailing opinion of the cabinet directed the measure; yet he considered the proposal with horror, and was so firm in his disposition to mercy, that not even the advice of his ministers could have induced him to adopt a mode of conduct which might have occasioned the effusion of blood.

was informed, that as the fury and malice of the insurgents were peculiarly pointed against her, it would be highly proper to withdraw, for some time at least, from Versailles. Her answer was truly consistent with the magnanimity she had always displayed. "I am determined never to forsake my husband: if the Parisians are bent on murdering me, I will die at the feet of the king."

Meanwhile the assembly were insulted less by the licentious proceedings of the mob, who disclaimed every appearance of respect, than by the open triumph of those members of their own body who were known to instigate such proceedings. From them the insurgents received a new impulse, and from clamouring for bread, and venting execrations against the *gardes-du-corps*, began to demand a simple and unconditional assent to the decrees presented to the king; and twelve of them insisted on accompanying Mounier, the president, and the rest of the deputation into his presence. The king received them with so much dignity and graciousness as instantly overcame all their prejudices; he convinced them that no effort of his was wanting, or should ever be wanting, to procure them supplies of provisions, complied with their request of a written order, though he knew it must be ineffectual, and sent them from his presence mollified, weeping, and even fainting. Mounier and his six colleagues, however, did not abandon their pursuit; they persevered in pressing his acceptance of the preliminary articles of the constitution, pretending that public tranquillity would result from the concession. Against this argument the king was never obdurate: he yielded, after a struggle protracted till eleven o'clock at night, which demonstrates that what fear for himself or solicitude for his family could not effect, was instantaneously produced by a suggestion of sparing the blood of his people. Such was the conduct of the king; "but posterity will never forget the mo-
" ment

MEMOIRS OF

“ ment chosen by the assembly to consecrate the
 “ theory of the rights of man, and to lay the corner
 “ stone of the temple of liberty.”

Magnani-
 mity of the
 queen.

I pass over intermediate transactions, till la Fayette, having arrived and had an interview with the king, took the responsibility of all further events on himself, and advised Mounier to adjourn the assembly. The king appears to have been tranquillized by the promises of the general, and to have confided in the effect of his exertions; but the queen informed of the inveteracy of the Parisian mob against her, acquainted with the criminal views of the Orleans faction, and perhaps, personally suspicious of la Fayette, retired to her closet, prepared to expect some dreadful event. Yet she did not give way to apprehension, or exhibit symptoms of fear. She replied to those who suggested their thoughts on her danger, “ I know that the people come to demand my life; I have learned from my mother not to fear death, and I will await it with courage.” It is asserted, that at a late hour of the night, she received a letter from one of the ministry, informing her, that at six o'clock in the morning she would be murdered; that she read it without emotion, dismissed her attendants without imparting its contents, retired to bed and enjoyed a few hours repose, which enabled her to undergo the fatigues and horrors of the ensuing day¹.

6th Oct.
 Further
 transac-
 tions.

At six o'clock in the morning, an immense multitude presented themselves at the gates of the palace, which were feebly defended or rather basely betrayed by the *gardes Français*, to whose care la Fayette had intrusted them. They ran through the various apartments, breathing blood, and shouting obloquies, which to repeat would cause a blush on the cheek of impudicity. The *gardes-du-corps*, some of whom

¹ Sur l'Administration de M. Necker, p. 308. See also the quotation from Lally Tollendal, in the Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 228.

² Montjoye. Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 232.

had

had remained in the palace, and who had not gone to bed; though not immediately on duty, hearing this dreadful uproar, resolved to devote their utmost efforts to save their unfortunate sovereigns. Twelve of them, headed by Luillier, commander of the Scotch company, opposed the mob on the stair case. "Wretches," cried the brave commander, "respect the retreat of your king." The populace, however, rushed on, and the guards resolved to favor the retreat of the intended victims, disputed the passage with the assailants foot by foot. They barricaded the queen's anti-chamber, and some of them ran to the door of her room, entreating her to fly. The mob forced the entrance, and rushed with redoubled fury and a quickened desire of blood towards her majesty's bed chamber. She, ever preserving that dignified presence of mind which was her characteristic, had retired by a private passage under the room called the *ail de bas*, into the king's chamber, attended only by the marquise de Tourzel, holding the princess royal by the hand, and the count de St. Aulaire carrying the dauphin. When she arrived the king was not there; he, no less alarmed for the safety of the partner of his heart and crown, had gone to her room by another passage. What must have been the agonizing sensations of these persecuted personages at the moment! History or fiction can hardly present a situation equally critical and affecting. The king regaining his own apartment, rejoined his consort and children.

Meanwhile the assassins proceeded in their work of blood; they had overpowered the *gardes-du-corps*, and after murdering two of them in the anti-chamber, and several more in the *ail de bas*, had taken as many more as they could find prisoners, reserving them for the same fate. The Parisian guards, not equally inveterate against them with those of Versailles, finding that it was not true that they wore the black cockade, as had been said, began to feel emotions

emotions of pity. The unfortunate *gardes-du-corps* performed prodigies of valor in the defence of the royal family and of themselves. A party of eight had fought their way out of the palace, and concealed themselves in a house in the town; but were discovered by the mob, who prepared to put them to death under the king's windows. One of them, venerable by his age, his white hairs and dignified military appearance, exclaimed, "Our lives are in your power; you may murder us; our existence will be shortened by a few moments, but we will not die dishonored." This affecting address was lost on the mob of Paris and the national guard of Versailles; but the national guard of Paris exclaimed, "No, we will not kill brave fellows like you," and rushing between them and the murderers, saved their lives. The king, learning the danger of his faithful adherents, thoughtless of peril, ran into the balcony, and shewed himself to the people; crying, "Quarter! spare my *gardes-du-corps*." The impression of tenderness was begun amongst the grenadiers; this generous solicitude augmented it, and it was completed by the action of the *gardes-du-corps* themselves who had remained in the apartment with the royal family: They too came into the balcony, threw away their arms and waving their hats, in which they had mounted the tri-coloured cockade, cried *vive la nation!* The Parisians completely subdued, answered, *vive le roi!* and every effort was used to save the *gardes-du-corps*, of whom all that could be found were paraded under the window with acclamations.

During these transactions la Fayette had made his appearance on horseback, and having collected a body of grenadiers, assisted in rescuing several parties of *gardes-du-corps* from the assassins, and in clearing the palace from the mob; who having in the moments of rage at the queen's escape cut her bed in

in various places, with swords and scythes intended for her person, were directing their attention to the more profitable employ of carrying off the furniture. Aided by captain Gondran of the Paris national guard, la Fayette effected his purpose; and hopes of tranquillity began to be entertained.

This appearance was destructive to the views of the faction; they saw all their labour frustrated by accident, unexpected heroism, and irresistible sympathy. To counteract this, they instigated the mob to demand the queen's appearance in the balcony, hoping thus to revive the popular fury. She obeyed the summons without hesitation, holding her two children, one in each hand. This pathetic, though silent appeal to the feelings of all the spectators increased the rage, as it augmented the disappointment of her enemies: "No children! No children," they exclaimed. The intrepid princess retired a moment and returned unaccompanied: this act of heroism operated electrically; *vive la reine!* burst from every mouth.

All the labors of the conspirators were again lost; a new resource must be tried: it presented itself instantaneously.—A feeble cry was raised at first;—"To Paris! The king to Paris!" This audacious attempt on the liberty of the monarch surpassed expectation; La Fayette and his corps were silent and amazed, the friends of the king stupified, while the clamour increased, and the demand was vociferously repeated. Two members of the national assembly, which was then sitting, were near the king; he desired them to go to the president, to inform him of his situation, and say, that he requested the aid and counsel of the legislative body, and that they would immediately come and hold their sitting in the hall called the Hall of Hercules. Mounier would have complied with this proposition, but was opposed by Mirabeau, who said, the president could not compel them to go without deliberation; and in discussing

The king
resolves to
go to Paris.

the question, observed, that "it was unbecoming
 " their dignity, and even unwise to accede to the
 " invitation; that freedom of debate would be lost
 " in a royal palace, and that it would be enough to
 " send a deputation of six-and-thirty members to
 " advise with the king."—"Our dignity," said
 Mounier, "is best supported by a conscientious dis-
 " charge of our duty; it is our sacred duty not to
 " abandon the sovereign in this moment of distress
 " and danger; and we should be liable to never-
 " ceasing reproaches if we omitted to fulfil it." The
 majority, however, adopted the opinion of Mirabeau.
 When the king and his friends were informed of
 these facts, and the danger of trusting himself to a
 licentious and sanguinary multitude was strongly
 represented to him, he answered, that he would
 not permit any more blood to be shed in his quarrel,
 but would go. This intelligence was communicated
 to the mob, and received with demonstrations of
 satisfaction. The assembly immediately decreed that
 they were inseparable from the person of the king,
 and that a deputation of one hundred should attend
 him to Paris. It was not amongst the least remark-
 able circumstances of these eventful days, that while
 they thought thirty-six of their members sufficient
 to advise with and protect their sovereign in the
 moment of embarrassment and danger, not less than
 an hundred would partake the pleasure of witnessing
 his degradation and disgrace.

His jour-
 ney.

The satisfaction of the mob soon yielded to brutal
 indications of impatience at the delay necessarily made
 by this unfortunate family in preparing for their
 inauspicious journey. They departed at one o'clock
 in the afternoon, in melancholy procession. At the
 head of it was a wretch known by the name of the
man with the great beard, who had disguised himself
 in that manner, and, not contented with displaying
 an activity singularly ferocious in murdering the
gardes-du-corps, had smeared himself all over with
 blood,

blood, so that his countenance, his beard, and his rags, formed an appearance truly loathsome. On each side of him was a man carrying the head of one of the murdered *gardes-du-corps* upon a pike. After these came a promiscuous rabble: the Parisian army, with la Fayette at their head, followed next. Intermingled with these, and riding on the horses, and on the carriages of the cannon, was an immense multitude of *poissardes*, intoxicated with spirituous liquors, licentiousness, and blood, now howling impure songs, now insulting the royal captives and the miserable *gardes-du-corps*, and at intervals stopping the procession to dance before the windows of the king's coach, in a style truly dæmonic. Next came the carriage of the degraded sovereign, in which were himself, his illustrious consort, the two royal children, the marquise de Tourzel, their governess, her sister, monsieur and madame. These were succeeded by some of the king's suite; then came the hundred deputies from the national assembly; the *gardes-du-corps* were in the rear, disarmed and bare headed, exhausted with hunger and fatigue. Several waggons loaded with flour provided by Orleans for the purpose, concluded the procession; which gave occasion to the mob, amongst other raileries against the unhappy family they were so cruelly insulting, to exclaim, "We are bringing to town the baker, the baker's wife, and the little journeyman." Others shouted, "Orleans for ever! God save our father the good duke of Orleans!" This humiliating journey, protracted by frequent delays and the slow progress of the carriage, which when in motion went only a foot pace, to five hours and a half, at length terminated. The royal family, exhausted by distress, fatigue and hunger, for they had eat nothing the whole day, were conducted to the *hotel de ville*, where their patience was further tried by a long harangue from Moreau de Saint Mery, and another

The royal
family
arrive in
Paris.

Their
residence
at the
Louvre.

no less prolix, but more absurd, from Bailly, who called this day of indescribable horrors, a *beautiful day*^m.

The palace of the Louvre was fixed on for the abode of the royal family. It had long been out of repair, and the removal from Versailles was so sudden and unexpected, that orders could not possibly be issued in time to make it fit for habitation. The walls had often been stained with blood, and the friends of the royal family gave way to gloomy pre-
sages, which were too fatally verified. The king had no reason to expect that the capital was designed for his prison; but immediately on his arrival he received the intimation, when he was induced by the insinuations of Bailly to gratify the attending mob with a declaration that he intended, in future, to make it his principal residence. Nor were the royal family long uninformed of the treatment they were to expect from their gaolers. To gratify wanton curiosity, and afford a triumph to an insulting mob, they were obliged to shew themselves every day at the windows, and some days more than onceⁿ. Those members of the assembly who had virtue enough to perceive the disgrace of co-operating any longer with a body so factious deserted their posts; and those who remained, instead of healing the wounded mind of the sovereign by any act of humanity or kindness, began to display their resolution to tyrannize and reign in blood. By several decrees they extended their own power, and enacted the responsibility of ministers; and after a quibbling debate, they deprived the king of the title of his ancestors, which they changed to *King of the French*^o.

Not-

^m For further details respecting these two days, see ORLEANS. These particulars are taken from Conjuración de d'Orleans, vol. ii. livres ix. & x. Pagès, vol. i. livres xiv. & xv. Moore's View, c. xiv. & xv. Impartial History, c. iii. &c. &c.

ⁿ Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 54. 63.

^o Histories and Debates. Such a change may seem totally unimportant, but it is not so in fact. Those who assumed a right of changing

Notwithstanding these inauspicious circumstances, the genuine goodness of the royal family soon became conspicuous. The display of their characters was facilitated by the absence of the duke of Orleans, who, soon after the 6th of October, departed for England. The queen was at first stigmatized by every species of defamation and abuse¹; but an effort of charity which she suggested, and an act of condescension contributed to soften the hearts of the people: She redeemed for the poorer class all their property pawned at the *Mont de Piété* for sums not exceeding two *louis-d'ors*², and she distinguished herself by her benevolence to the widow of François a baker, who had been murdered soon after the assembly commenced their sittings in Paris, by sending her two thousand crowns (250*l.*) in money, and engaging that the king and herself would stand godfather and godmother to the child with which the unfortunate widow was pregnant³. The king's humanity was already well known, and he had done a very popular act before he was forced from Versailles, by sending his rich services of plate to the mint⁴. He now came abroad almost every day

Behaviour
of the
king and
queen.

changing the royal title had taken the first step towards abrogating the kingly office. The public mind is more attached to long used sounds than mere abstract reasoners will be ready to admit. The name of *Capet* is no more disgraceful than that of *Bourbon*, but they who first applied that disused patronymic to the king, and the nick-name of *l'Autrichienne* to the queen, left an easy task to those who afterwards stigmatized them by the appellatives of *Monsi.* and *Madame Peu*, *Claudius* and *Messalina*, and many others equally odious, which served instead of arguments to inflame the rage of the mob, and precipitated the tragical end of the sovereigns.

It was currently reported, and believed by the people, that she said she should not mind being shut up in Paris, provided the walls of her prison were made of the bones of Frenchmen. *Lettre d'un François*, p. 31. n. From such absurd insinuations arose the song beginning,

"Madame Veto avait promis,

"De faire égorger tout Paris."

See Historical Essay on the Conquests, &c. p. 235.

¹ Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 294, &c.

² Impartial History, vol. i. p. 262, &c.

³ Idem, p. 220.

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with

with the queen, who went about viewing the public buildings, hospitals, and manufactures, speaking and behaving affably to the lowest of the people, and studying by every means to regain her lost popularity. These efforts were attended with considerable success, and the cry of *Vive la Reine* was frequently heard in the streets¹.

Her popularity was greatly increased by her heroic forbearance when the judges of the Chatelet attended to interrogate her respecting the transactions of the 5th and 6th of October. At first she declined answering, alledging that she would never be an informer against the king's subjects. Being again pressed, she prevented all further interrogatory by this sublime reply, *J'ai tout vu, tout entendu, et j'ai tout oublié*².

Efforts of
their ene-
mies.

The Orleans party, though deprived of their leader, had lost no part of their inveteracy. Incapable of discovering any new fact on which to found a calumnious report, they recurred to their former topics of slander. The fable of the projected journey to Metz was revived, and letters supposed to be written by the queen, were brought forward with the most malignant views³. The freedom of the press extended to the most wanton licentiousness; not only the ancient government and the conduct of the present ministers were painted in the blackest colours, but the characters of the king and queen were also libelled with a rancour unequalled in any age or country⁴.

The king
goes to the
assembly.

To obviate these clamours, and give the nation the most effectual testimony of his sincerity, the king was advised to a measure which every discerning man must censure, and which was either the offspring of a shallow judgment or the device of refined

¹ Christie's Letters on the Revolution, p. 219.

² Histories. Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 71. Anecdotes, &c. vol. i. p. 427.

³ Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 298.

⁴ Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 127.

treachery. Dumouriez claims the honor of it^a; to some such adviser it undoubtedly belongs; Bouillé reprobates it^b, and every one who regards loyalty, or appreciates consistency, will join in his opinion. Unexpectedly, and while the assembly was engaged in the business of the day, the king sent a message, importing that he should come to the hall about noon. At that hour a deputation of thirty members was sent to meet him, and he entered attended by his ministers, who, when he was seated, ranged themselves behind the arm-chair. Then rising, uncovered, and bending forward with benignity and gracefulness, Louis pronounced an interesting discourse on the state of the country, in which, after lamenting the ill success which attended the labours of the legislature in securing unanimity and promoting happiness, he, to give an example of cordiality and sincerity, pledged himself and the queen, in the most solemn manner, to maintain the constitution, and to make it the basis of their son's education. The king's voice was flexible and sonorous, his manner of pronouncing this speech, and the sentiments it contained^c, made a great impression on the members and the people in the galleries, who, as well as himself, were standing and uncovered. They interrupted him with frequent plaudits, and when he was withdrawn passed a vote of thanks, and immediately formed the famous constitutional oath^d. The good effects of this measure were confined and transitory, its ill consequences extensive and permanent. It excited a temporary enthusiasm in those few who were not before decidedly attached to any party, but it rendered the royalists hopeless and

4th Feb.
1790.

^a Life of Dumouriez, vol. ii. p. 80.

^b Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 132.

^c One of these sentiments, though well known, cannot be too often recollected when the character of the monarch is in question. Speaking of the people, he said, "*Ce bon peuple qui m'est si cher, et dont on m'afflige*" "*que je suis aind, quand on veut me consoler de mes peines ?*"

^d See the Histories, and Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 35.

heart-struck, while the Jacobins triumphed at seeing the king surrender himself irredeemably into their hands. The momentary effusion of loyalty and gratitude soon subsided, and the detractors of the royal family, both in and out of the assembly, resumed their wonted audacity.

Publica-
tion of the
red book.

Yet the assembly had then no hopes that the people would always be satisfied with general clamours or unproved assertions. Every document or fact they had yet brought to light had tended, contrary to their expectations, to evince the innocence and virtues of the king and queen. The plenty which reigned in Paris from the period of the departure of Orleans proved that the scarcity was not to be attributed to them. The destruction of the Bastille demonstrated, by the paucity of prisoners found there, the purity of the king's administration. The most severe scrutiny of the public expenditure could not supply an instance of misconduct. In this dilemma, the committee of inquiry suggested the propriety of inspecting the red book. This request was reluctantly agreed to by Necker, relying on the positive assurance of Camus that its contents should not be disclosed; the perfidious deputy, however, as soon as the register was delivered to him, caused it to be printed and published^d. But though, in detailing the particulars of the expenditure thus dishonestly exposed, the enemies of the court descended to every artifice, every misrepresentation, every meanness; though they descanted with all the volubility and pomposity of French rhetoric, on pensions of four and five hundred livres (17*l.* or 21*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*); though every resource was exhausted, and even the water-mark of the paper of which the book was made was adduced as a topic of invective; yet nothing was discovered which could found a charge approaching to guilt, or which the utmost malignity of opposition could torture into

^d See NECKER.

a form of accusation. To admit the very extreme of criminality deduced from this publication, we should acknowledge that a young couple succeeding to the throne of a powerful nation, had, in a few instances, distributed money lavishly and imprudently; but no trace could be found of their having disbursed a single livre corruptly or viciously*. This profusion, however, must necessarily have been very small in its extent, when it is considered that this book contained an account of all the secret-service money, pensions, and military rewards, from May 1774 to August 1789, and that it amounted only to two hundred and twenty-eight millions (9,625,000*l.*). This was the whole sum expended in fifteen years; during which an expensive war had been maintained, many foreign courts bought to the French interest, and the American independence favoured by unlimited donations.

These clamours, however, would have subsided, and the national tranquillity have been restored, had not the evil genius of Bailly and la Fayette suggested a measure which occasioned the recall of the worthless duke of Orleans. The assembly had insulted the king's adherents, and deprived him of part of his prerogative in the discussion and determination of the question relating to the right of declaring war and peace^f; but, on the other hand, they permitted him to fix the civil list himself; which he did at twenty-five millions (1,093,750*l.*), with a dowry for the queen, in case of her surviving him, of four millions (175,000*l.*) a-year^g. During these transactions Bailly attended the assembly with his foppish plan of a confederation,

Proceed-
ings of the
assembly.

14th to 22d
May.

On war
and peace.

June.

On the ci-
vil list.

* See *Le Livre Rouge*, with Annotations printed in red ink at Paris; and a Translation of the same published by Kearsley, London. Also *Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI.* vol. v. p. 417. to the end.

^f Debates. *Impartial History*, vol. i. p. 338. *Moore's View*, vol. ii. p. 145.

^g Debates. *Histories*. *Arthur Young's Travels*, p. 266.

29th June.
Abolition
of titles.

which being decreed, served as a pretext to introduce several motions which ended in the abolition of titles¹. The duke of Orleans, who hoped to derive some advantage from the ferment of the public mind, availed himself of an indiscretion committed by la Fayette, and returned to France a few days before the ceremony¹.

14th July.
Disposition
of the fédérés.

The contrivers of the confederation seem to have exposed themselves to some danger in bringing to Paris eighty thousand *fédérés*, selected from a respectable class of citizens in the provinces. They were not, like the mere mob, inflamed by declamations without proof, but came to Paris with hearts untainted, and replete with genuine loyalty. Montjoye says, they were so well-disposed, that a single word, a mere sign would have been sufficient to rally them around the throne, and engage them to restore to Louis XVI. all his authority². The republican, Pagès, expresses the same opinion in a language peculiar to the advocates of the revolution. He says, "*Si Louis XVI. eut eu du caractère, il pouvoit se mettre à la tête de ces quatre-vingt-mille fédérés*"³: which I should translate thus: "If Louis had been a man of no principle, if in the moment of making an oath he had, like his subjects, considered it a mere matter of convenience, and meditated a breach of it on the first opportunity, he might have placed himself at the head of fourscore thousand men, and imbrued his hands in blood in a doubtful contest." In fact, whatever the two authors above cited may have been led, from the impulses of hope and apprehension, to surmise respecting the issue of such a contest, the marquis de Bouillé, while he acknowledges the good disposition of the *fédérés*, ascribes the king's neglect of the opportunity to its true mo-

¹ Histories. Debates.

² See ORLEANS.

³ Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 63.

⁴ Histoire Secrète, vol. i. p. 360. n.

tives, and expresses great doubts of his succeeding had he made the attempt alluded to by these writers^a.

The return of the duke of Orleans was the signal for the most atrocious exertions of his faction and every other which opposed the king. La Fayette augmented his brutality, and, with the office, assumed the manners of a gaoler^b. He contracted the limits of the king's prison; and instead of permitting him, as at first, to make excursions in the *Bois de Boulogne*, and even to St. Cloud, confined him to the gardens of the Tuilleries, where he was subjected to all the insolence of a petulant and ungovernable mob^c. The writers in the pay of Orleans increased in audacity, and daily falsehoods issued from their invenomed pens: among the most daring and prominent of these, was the report of an Austrian committee holding secret assemblies in the palace, and conspiring the most tremendous projects against the nation^d. The assembly passed decrees requiring the priests to take certain oaths which their conscience forbade, and which the pope, to whom they candidly referred the matter, as head of their church, absolutely disavowed. The priests certainly were influenced by no motive but a pure consideration of their duty in refusing these oaths, since they had, without an effort, submitted to a privation of all their property, and by this refusal precluded themselves from the means of obtaining a subsistence, and subjected themselves to a horrible persecution^e.

Calumnies
revived.

Decrees
against
priests.

^a *Memoirs*, p. 166. These are the author's words: "The deputations which came from the provinces to assist at this ceremony, shewed the king every mark of respect and attachment; and many people have thought that he might have availed himself of these favourable sentiments to effect a revolution in his favour at Paris. This, however, was not his character; nor in his heart did he entertain such an idea. I even doubt whether, had he attempted it, he would have succeeded."

^b *Bouillé's Memoirs*, p. 230.

^c *Conjuration de d'Orleans*, vol. iii. p. 273.

^d *Rabaud's History*, p. 120.

^e *Histories*.

21st Feb.
1791.
Departure
of the
king's
aunts.

The king's aunts, women of exemplary piety, and advanced in life, could no longer endure to live in a country where acts which they considered as sacrilegious were daily sanctioned; and they retired to Rome, though not without considerable opposition from the populace, and a long debate in that assembly which had established as a fundamental right the freedom of human action.

Report of
the king's
intended
flight.

The departure of these two princesses gave new force to a report industriously circulated by the factious, that the king and all his family had projected to leave the kingdom, and return at the head of a foreign army, to re-establish the royal authority in its ancient form. This report had existed long before there could be any foundation for it; it originated, perhaps, in the wish of the contending parties, the Orleanists and Constitutionalists, to induce the king to fly, that they might be unrestrained in their contest for power. At this period, however, it was not altogether inconsistent with truth; though all the pretended facts from which they drew their inferences were unfounded, and the scope and aim of the projected journey totally perverted. There is no evidence, nor any strong reason to believe that any of them, except, perhaps, la Fayette, had penetrated the king's plan; but they conducted themselves as if they possessed proofs amounting to moral certainty. The king had, in the autumn of the preceding year, adopted a resolution to leave Paris, and throw himself on the loyalty of the provinces. His project is clearly explained by Bouillé, the only person who could speak incontrovertibly on the occasion. He says, "I was waited upon by a person of eminence from the king, who gave me an account of the unhappy situation of that prince and his family, with which I was already too well ac-

* Histories. Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 204. Debates.

* Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 108.

"quainted;

“ quainted ; and he informed me that it was rendered daily more insupportable by the rigour and inflexibility of la Fayette, who was become their gaoler : he assured me that the king had an intire confidence in me, of which his majesty was going to give me a striking proof by communicating to me a design he had formed of quitting Paris, where he was in a state of confinement, and retiring to one of the frontier towns under my command, leaving me to fix the place : there he meant to collect round him the troops, and such of his subjects as still retained their fidelity, to attempt to bring back to a sense of their duty the rest of the people misled by factious men ; and in case other means should fail, to call in the assistance of his allies for the restoration of order and tranquillity in his kingdom.” Bouillé stated a plan of his own ; which was to prevail on the emperor to make an amicable invasion of France in order to furnish a pretence for levying an army, of which the king might easily have placed himself at the head ; and being once in that respectable position, he might, with the aid of Mirabeau, who had offered his services on certain conditions, have obtained from the assembly such a share of power as would have rendered him independent and respectable. To this the king’s agent answered, that “ the emperor and all the other allies of the king had insisted on his majesty’s leaving Paris, and being at perfect liberty, before they took any steps in his favour.”

Such were the plans which had been suggested to the king, and induced that flight which was afterwards so ruinous to his interests, and fatal to his life. It is not possible to ascertain whether the project was the safest and most prudent that could have been adopted ; nor would it be easy to determine the question unless others had been presented and

Violence
of the mob.

¹ Bouillé’s Memoirs, p. 246 to 252.

abandoned,

abandoned, and reasons given for their dereliction. It cannot, however, be doubted that, as a man, the king had a right to save himself and family from imprisonment, insult, defiance, and danger; and that, as a king, invested with certain rights, he had the privilege of appealing to his people, and even to his allies for protection, against usurpers who were reducing his power that they might extend their own. The conspirators, though not apprised of his real intentions, availed themselves of the departure of his aunts to excite a popular commotion. They raised a false report that non-juring priests, and gentlemen armed with poniards of a peculiar construction, had been found in the castle of the Tuilleries by the national guard. When the public mind was sufficiently inflamed by this and other calumnies, two separate riots were excited in the same day; one headed by Santerre repaired to the castle of Vincennes, which they were in the act of demolishing, when prevented by la Fayette. Another mob committed the most desperate outrages at the Tuilleries, under pretence of repelling these armed conspirators, when la Fayette returning, at the head of the national guard, from an easy conquest over the *sans-culottes* of the *fauxbourg Saint Antoine*, repaired to the palace, where he joined in the excesses of the mob, and treated every gentleman who was found there with the most brutal indignity. The effect of this proceeding was, that the suspicion of an alarming conspiracy to *murder all Paris* was generally believed, and *chevalier du poignard* became a term synonymous to royalist.

28th Feb.
1791.

Royalists
mal-treated.

Decree respecting
the king's
residence.

While the public was thus agitated, the regency was settled in a manner highly favourable to the views of Orleans; and it was decreed, that "*The king should always be resident, during the session, within twenty leagues of the legislative body*; and

^a Histories. Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 215.

" that,

“ that, if he or the heir apparent WENT OUT OF THE
 “ KINGDOM without a decree of the legislature, they
 “ should be considered as having ABDICATED THEIR
 “ RIGHT TO THE CROWN^x.”

At the beginning of the year, the king had informed M. de Bouillé of his intentions to leave Paris in the month of March or April, to go to Montmedi, and asked his advice which road he should follow. Bouillé pointed out two, one by Rheims, the other by Varennes; the king disliked going through Rheims, because, having been crowned there, he was apprehensive of being known, and preferred Varennes. The observation of Bouillé on the subject of the king's departure is candid, and worthy of attention. “ What his majesty's projects were on his arrival at Montmedi, or what conduct he intended to adopt towards the assembly, I never could learn; though whoever is acquainted with the religious character of the king, can entertain no doubt, that when his majesty solemnly engaged to support the constitution, it was his intention scrupulously to observe his oath.” Between the formation of the project, however, and its execution, many incidents occurred which rendered it more difficult than had been at first expected. The ministry was changed; Bouillé was deprived of many of his best regiments; and his troops were permitted to visit the Jacobin clubs, where they soon became infected with the spirit of mutiny and insubordination which distinguished the rest of the army. The death of Mirabeau was another powerful impediment, as his talents alone were able to regulate and combine the various views of the constituent assembly^y.

While the king's departure was thus delayed by untoward circumstances, the close confinement he

He perseveres in his intention to escape.

^x Histories. Debates. It is of great importance to recollect this decree.

^y Bouillé's Memoirs, chap. x. passim.

18th April
1791.
Is prevented going to St. Cloud.

endured

endured was so repugnant to his constitution, that he was attacked with a bilious fever. The people, on this occasion, exhibited as much appearance of loyalty as if the sentiment from which it ought to have proceeded had remained unsullied. Though the illness was not dangerous, his recovery was celebrated with illuminations and *Te Deums*, as if he had been at the point of death^a. La Fayette, soon afterwards, feeling compunction at the king's sufferings, or shame at being the occasion of them, persuaded him and his family to pass some days at St. Cloud^b. This intention was well known and publicly announced, nor was any opposition expected till the very day fixed for the excursion. On the morning of that day, a paper was posted on the walls of the Palais Royal, in which all the customary invectives against the royal family were recapitulated, and a direct accusation advanced against them, of intending to fly the kingdom and join the foreign enemy. Instigated by these reports, and the other means generally used to influence them, a mob assembled, and when the king and royal family were seated in their carriages, began, with great vociferation, to insist on their not leaving Paris. As there were several detachments of national guards on duty, the king, disregarding the insolence of the mob, ordered the postillions to drive on. The national guard, however, instead of enforcing this order, closed before the horses, and declared they would not permit the king to quit Paris^c. One of their apologists asserts, that they defended themselves by saying, that though they violated the law, the safety of the country was the first of all laws^d. The rabble, thus encouraged, gave way to every species of licentiousness and brutality. They reviled the king and queen in the most opprobrious and indecent

^a Historical Sketch, p. 310.

^b Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 310.

^c Moore's View, vol. II. p. 231.

^d Rabaud's History, p. 243.

language,

language, and even with actions and gestures of a nature not to be repeated^d. A gentleman of the bedchamber, and the queen's maître d'hôtel, incurred great risk of their lives; and one of the national guards, approaching the king's carriage, reviled him with great insolence for hearing mass from a non-juring priest. The king, whose temper was never ruffled but by an attack on his religious principles, indignantly exclaimed, "Begone, wretch! "who made you a judge over my conscience?" One of the cries most used by the mob was, "The hog is fat enough, let us cut his throat!" This indecorous scene lasted three hours^e, during which the assembly, completely enslaved by the rabble, took no step to enforce respect to the king, or to ensure his liberty or safety. Bailly harangued, and la Fayette exerted himself in vain; the eloquence of Danton frustrated their efforts, and reduced them to a state of insignificance. La Fayette, seeing the king's resolution not to yield, said, "Sire, I will go and display the red flag to disperse this seditious multitude." The execution of military law would have been uncertain in its effect on the mob, but extremely dangerous to the king, who, together with his whole family, might easily have been murdered in the scuffle. The king, however, prevented the danger, and avoided the unpopularity of such a measure, by his answer to this insidious, or, at least, rash proposal. "Sir," said he to the general, "I have no advice to give respecting what you may think the constitution authorizes; but I wish you to understand, that I will not permit a drop of

^d See *Conjuration de d'Orleans*, vol. iii. p. 118.

^e Moore's *View*, vol. ii. p. 233.

^f *Lettre d'un François*, p. 37.

^g The time is variously stated. Dr. Moore says, three hours; Montjoye, three quarters of an hour. See *View*, and *Conjuration de d'Orleans*, *ubi supra*. The Author of *Lettre d'un François* says, an hour and three quarters, p. 37.

" blood

" blood to be shed on my account ^h." At length the monarch was obliged to return with his family to the palace amidst the scoffs, groans, and hootings of the mob ⁱ. He repaired, next day, to the assembly, complained of these transactions, and expressed his resolution to go to St. Cloud. Had the assembly been really apprehensive of the king's flight, they might have availed themselves of this message to take effectual means for preventing it; but general suspicion, and not well-founded intelligence, had led to these surmises; and they felt their own impotence too much to tempt the fury of the rabble. They applauded the king's speech, but passed to the order of the day. The journey was relinquished ^k.

Insolence
of the po-
pulance.

This triumph increased the audacity of his enemies to an unbounded excess. The orators and motion-makers who frequented the Palais Royal, gave vent to the most treasonable and virulent expressions. They proceeded from unfounded assertions to direct attacks on the person and office of the king. "A king," said one of them, "is a very uselefs personage; a monster, who devours thirty millions of livres a year." The press, too, issued innumerable libels to irritate the people against the king, his family, and ministers ^l.

Further in-
dignities.

To complete the degradation of the monarch, an address was presented to him by the department of Paris, couched in a style which he did not think it safe to disregard, requiring him to dismiss the unconstitutional priests and the ministry, and write a letter to all the courts of Europe, announcing his cordial adoption of the revolution, and his great happiness in being king over a free people. With all these requests he was obliged to comply. The pain of dis-

^h Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 111.

ⁱ Moore's View, vol. ii. 231.

^k Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 239. Debates.

^l Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 241.

missing

missing his ministers and friends was mitigated by several voluntary resignations. The letter was transmitted, though in itself it was a sufficient proof how little freedom was really left to the king. All the ecclesiastics belonging to the chapel royal were dismissed; and on the first Sunday after the address from the department, he went to the church of Saint Germain l'Auxerrois, and heard mass performed by the new priest on Easter-day^m. This last sacrifice was more painful to the religious Louis than any misery he had yet sustained. He might have exclaimed, like Charles the First, "My agony must not be relieved with the
 " presence of any one good angel, for such I account a learned, godly, and discreet divine; and
 " such I would have all mine to be.—They that envy
 " my being a king, are loth I should be a christian;
 " while they seek to deprive me of all things else,
 " they are afraid I should save my soulⁿ."

These insults and privations fixed the king's resolutions to leave the capital, though the extensive power of the Jacobins and the decrease of Bouillé's influence accumulated discouragements, and almost precluded the prospect of success. The king wrote to the marquis de Bouillé, on the 21st of May, appointing the 19th of June, between twelve o'clock at night and one in the morning, for his departure. Preparations were made accordingly, which were much deranged by the king's postponing his escape for four and twenty hours. Though this delay was announced to M. de Bouillé as early as the 15th, still it occasioned some difficulties in the disposal of the troops intended to protect the expedition, and excited many suspicions^o. The royal family, however, fortunately as they thought, reached their carriages and passed through the Porte Saint-Martin to Bondi. The king spoke to several

20th June.
King's
flight.

^m Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 285 to 308.

ⁿ Eikon Basilike, c. 24.

^o Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 330. 334.

persons

persons without being stopped, though he was known by the post-master at Chalons; and though he and the royal family came several times out of the carriage, they appeared to attract no particular notice'. The harness of the king's coach breaking near Montmirel, occasioned a delay of two hours, in which time the officers stationed with detachments at Pont du Somville, very inconsiderately at least, if not treacherously, withdrew their troops, and spreading the report through the other detachments, that the royal family was not to be expected, took an indirect road to Varennes'. Under these unfavorable circumstances, the king reached St. Menchoud, where he was recognized by the post-master, Drouet. Not being sufficiently strong at St. Menchoud to resist the detachment who accompanied the king, Drouet dispatched his son to Varennes, and permitted the royal family to depart; but when the dragoons who had been posted in the town by the orders of Bouillé, attempted to take horse and follow the carriages, Drouet instigated the people to prevent them, and, *what seems a little unaccountable*, his directions were literally followed'. One gentleman only, a *maréchal de logis*, gained possession of his horse, he discovered young Drouet, and rode after him intending to stop or kill him, but lost sight of him in a wood, and did not arrive at Varennes till he had been there some hours'.

Is stoppt at
Varennes.

The king reached Varennes at half past eleven o'clock, where he did not immediately find the expected relay, but was obliged to stop at the entrance of the town. He dispatched two *gardes-du-*

^p Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 330. Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 350.

^q Ibid. I have examined, in another place, how far the failure of the king's plan is to be imputed to treachery. See LA FAYETTE.

^r These are Dr. Moore's words, but he points out no object of suspicion; he mentions the matter merely as an unaccountable circumstance. View, vol. ii. p. 333.

^s Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 352.

corps,

corps, who were on the box of the carriage, and they went from gate to gate in search of the relay, which was placed at the further end of the town. The queen herself alighted to gain information, and the postillions were, with difficulty, prevailed on to proceed to the place where the relay was stationed. The carriage was first stopped under an arch by only eight or nine ruffians, whom the *gardes-du-corps* would have dispersed had not the king prevented them. He was then conducted to a neighbouring house where he was recognized, and all the municipal officers immediately assembled¹. The elder Drouet, with one Guillaume had arrived at Varennes a little while before the king. They overset a loaded waggon across the bridge to facilitate the detention of the prisoners². The tocsin was sounded ten leagues round, and legions of peasantry armed with every kind of weapon were collected in a very short time³. The king pathetically expostulated with the people for permission to pass, and for some time entertained hopes of success; but they were speedily terminated by the declaration of the hussars, that they were and ever would be for the nation; which determined the municipality to wait for orders from Paris.

At seven o'clock in the morning an aid-de-camp arrived from la Fayette, bringing an order to the municipality to send the king back to Paris. He resisted this order; but was, at length obliged to submit. Some ineffectual attempts were made by Bouillé to release him; but the general was, at length, obliged to seek his safety by flight. Monsieur, the king's brother, who took a different route was more fortunate; he completed his escape without impediment⁴.

22d.
Compelled
to return.

¹ Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 353.

² Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 335.

³ Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 123.

⁴ Same Authors. Histories.

Proceedings
of the as-
sembly.

Early in the morning of the 21st, the king's escape was known in Paris. The cannon on the Pont-neuf were fired, the tocsin sounded, and the national guard summoned to assemble under arms. The king had left a letter, stating the motives of his departure, and ordering his ministers to do no act in his absence. The assembly, however, decreed that their decrees should have the force of law, and that the minister of justice should affix the seal to them without further sanction. That the national guards should remain under arms till further orders. They directed the ministers to attend at the bar to receive instructions, dispatched couriers to all the departments, with orders to the magistrates and others to stop all travellers, and permit none to leave the kingdom; and they prescribed a new oath to the military, which was immediately taken in the assembly by la Fayette, Rochambeau, d'Affry, and all the officers of the line, as well as of the Swiss and national guards then in Paris. They directed an answer to the king's declaration to be prepared by a committee, and then proceeded to ordinary business.

of the
people.

The people, on the first alarm, attempted to testify their indignation in the usual mode, by violence and murder; their intended victim was the officer who commanded the guard at the Tuilleries; but he was rescued by the national guard. All signs of the king and queen, all emblems of royalty were torn down and trampled under foot. The section of Luxembourg ordered a banner, which they had received as a present from Monsieur, to be publicly torn to pieces; and a man was obliged to erase the name over his shop because he was called Louis. Nor were the leaders of faction negligent of this opportunity to inflame the public mind, and destroy every remaining particle of loyalty. The tragedy of Brutus was performed at one of the theatres; and the people allowed to enter gratis.

Hand.

Hand-bills abusive of the royal family were circulated, and a pamphlet, intitled *Memoires du gl-devant Roi*, was vociferated through the streets*. These impressions were assiduously kept alive, and the courage of the Parisians was considerably raised by the messages from the armies; by the submissiveness of most of the generals, and by the activity of Dumouriez*.

At length news arrived that the king was stopped at Varennes. The assembly immediately decreed, that measures should be taken for the protection of the king, his heir, and the rest of the family. La-tour Maubourg, Pétion, and Barnave were appointed commissioners to meet the royal family and conduct them in safety and with respect to Paris. They set out accordingly, and meeting the sad procession at Epernay, read to the king the decree of the assembly, and placed themselves in the carriage. They had hitherto proceeded at a foot pace on account of infantry who attended; but they being dismissed, the carriages proceeded somewhat faster. That in which the royal family sat was extremely crowded, and the heat of the weather made the journey excessively fatiguing^b. Added to these inconveniences, they had to endure the insults of a brutal rabble. One incident is recorded which must have shocked them in the highest degree. The marquis de Dampierre, hearing that the king was passing near his seat, impelled by a sentiment of loyalty, penetrated to the carriage, and kneeling down, kissed the king's hand, which he bathed with his tears. While he was in this attitude, three muskets were discharged at him and shot him in the loins; he fell crying, *Vive le Roi!* and the wheels of the coach passed over his body^c.

The king's
journey.

to Epernay
miles ed
and

* Moore's View, c. xxvi.

* See DUMOURIERS.

^b Moore's View, ubi supra.

^c Conjuration de d'Orléans, vol. iii. p. 123, &c. &c.

25th.
Reception
in Paris.

Conformable to this specimen was the monach's reception in Paris. His carriage slowly drawn, was furrounded by a howling mob, who frequently attempted to break through the guards that defended the carriage. On the coach box were the three *gardes-du-corps* who had been the attendants of the journey, their hands tied behind them like malefactors^d, and in the carriage the unfortunate family with the exulting commissioners. The few who still retained a wish to shew some respect were prevented by the order: "*Chapeau sur la tête, que personne ne se decouvre.*" Drouet crowned with laurel, followed the coach in an open cabriolet. The royal family were again lodged in the Tuilleries, under the guard of la Fayette, who redoubled his insolence and severity^e.

Conduct of
the assem-
bly.

The royal authority was suspended; and though no loud reproaches were permitted in the king's hearing, he was in every street in Paris called *Louis le faux, le parjure, le cochon*^f; addresses were presented requiring his deposition, and even his execution. The doctrine of republicanism was openly espoused, and a paper called *Le Republicain* established, though it met with little success. The assembly, for some time, maintained an equivocal conduct; they refused to take notice of the hand-bills which invited the people to demand the trial of the king; and seemed disposed to proceed to the greatest extremity. The royalists were dispirited and depressed, and the Orleanists conceived the most sanguine hopes.

^d It was with great difficulty these unfortunate men were rescued from the mob, who attempted to tear them to pieces. They were confined in the Abbaye.

^e Moore's View, c. xvi. Besides the authorities particularly cited, I have consulted the histories where this transaction is related, and Bouillé's declarations inserted in Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. App. No. X. and vol. iii. App. No. IV.

^f The application of the last name, on this occasion, was probably in consequence of a ridiculous fiction, invented by malevolence and credited by ignorance, that the arrest of the royal family was occasioned by the king's stopping to eat a fowl and drink a bottle of wine.

The

The assembly appointed commissioners to exhibit an interrogatory to the king and queen; the royalists opposed the measure, but could only obtain that the terms should be changed to that of receiving their declarations. These declarations, which were remarkably discreet, were taken in strict form, and without the least respect to the royal authority. The terms *his* or *her majesty* were not used; but the *king*, the *queen*, *he*, *she*, *him*, *her*, were always substituted; a matter apparently trifling, but so total an innovation in the French mode of speech as to indicate a great prejudice in the minds of the commissioners and of the assembly. Every thing appeared to shew that the question of abdication would be decided against the king, when a schism among his opponents gave a new aspect to his affairs. This was effected by compunction, or some other motive actuating the mind of Barnave. He did not disclose his sentiments to any but his confidential friends till the day appointed for arguing the report, when he suddenly assumed the defence of the king, and prevented the views of his enemies².

27th June.

25th July.

In this point, Barnave adhered strictly to the sense of the constitution. The assembly had, in fact, no authority to pronounce the king's deposition or bring him to a trial. The king was restricted by the laws from going more than twenty leagues from Paris; but if he exceeded those limits, it was enacted that he should be first cited to return within the prescribed bounds, and it was only on his refusal that he could be declared to have forfeited the throne. In the present instance, he had been arrested and

Dissatisfaction of the Orleanists.

² See Historical Sketch of the French Revolution, p. 376. Histories. Moore's View, vol. ii. Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 139. Debates. On the day when this subject was to be discussed, a very affecting pamphlet, of thirty-two pages, was distributed in the hall of the assembly, under the title of *Le regne de Louis XVI. mis sous les yeux de l'Europe*, which excited the most favourable sensations. *Mercurie François* du 23 Juillet 1791.

brought prisoner to Paris, which was a manifest violation of the laws established by the assembly itself^a. The Orleans faction, however, were so little satisfied with the determination of the legislature, that they attempted to terrify them into a reversal of it, and for that purpose prepared the famous petition which produced the exertion of the law known by the name of the massacre of the *Champ de Mars*¹.

4th Aug. 1791. The existence of the constituent assembly was now drawing to a conclusion; nothing remained but to revise the constitution; which having been debated article by article, was finally settled and presented to the king for his pure and simple acceptance or rejection. Even this limited act of deference did not pass without sarcastic animadversion; d'André observed, that the king's acceptance was absolutely unnecessary; "our constitution," he said, "is totally independent of the king." Robespierre, beginning with the same observation, said, "he would doubtless accept with transport the throne with all the advantages annexed to it by the constitution^k." It was presented to the king, who, having first returned his assent in writing, went to the assembly, and sanctioned the assent by an oath to be faithful to the nation, and to employ the powers vested in him for the maintenance of the constitution. At the end of the month the assembly dissolved itself¹.

12th and 13th Sept. 30th Sept. Dissolution of the assembly. Observation on the constitution. Of this constitution, the short-lived first-born of modern philosophy, which rashness has extolled beyond measure, and ignorance considered an epitome of human wisdom, it is not necessary to expose all the absurdities. It is completely analysed in Necker's *Essay du Pouvoir Executif*, and in various other writings. I shall transcribe Montjoye's description of it,

^a Bouillé's *Memoris*, p. 361.

¹ See ORLEANS.

^k Debates.

¹ Debates. Histories. Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 424.

which

which is, at once, accurate and spirited". "Never did the union of folly and madness beget a more monstrous offspring. This pretended constitution presented to the eye a mis-shapen machine, whimsically composed of an infinity of wheels without any mutual relation or dependence. Experience has shewn that it was not in the power of man to put its grotesque springs in motion. The government framed by these presumptuous legislators was neither monarchical, aristocratical, or popular: Their constitutional act might, at best, be considered as the basis of an anarchical monarchy, that is, a real chimera, for death and life cannot subsist in the same body. Had this monster been able to live, those who begot it took great precautions that it might be strangled in the cradle. They had taken from the kingdom its religion, they had annihilated the public force, disorganized the military, and armed those who ought to contribute to the exigencies of the state; and that nothing might be wanting to the deformity of their work, they had carefully destroyed every barrier which could prevent the attacks of usurpation or despotism".

Yet,

^m Eloge, &c. p. 160.

ⁿ The following opinion of the late Earl of Mansfield, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, is replete with sagacity, and merits particular attention; it is taken, together with the introductory narrative, from Halliday's Life of Lord Mansfield. Dr. Turton attended Lord Mansfield at Kenwood, in the latter part of his life. The physician was diverted from his attention to his patient's health by Lord Mansfield's turning the subject, and humorously saying, "Instead of dwelling on an old man's pulse, let me ask you, doctor, what you think of this wonderful French revolution?" The modest answer, was, "It is more material to know what your lordship thinks of it." Lord Mansfield, without the least interval of suspension, began, "My dear Turton, how can any two reasonable men think differently on the subject? A nation, which for more than twelve centuries has made a conspicuous figure in the annals of Europe; a nation, where the polite arts first flourished in the northern hemisphere, and found an asylum against the barbarous incursions of the Goths and Vandals; a nation, whose philosophers and men of science cherished

Disposition
of the con-
stituent as-
sembly;

Yet, whatever faults the constituent assembly had committed, there is great reason to regret that they did not retain their station some time longer. They had acquired experience in business, and many of them entertained a strong sense of the erroneous conduct of themselves and their colleagues. But each party was too proud and too replete with self-love to propose amendments, or make effectual concessions, they therefore fell into a state of despondency; and, though they knew the faults and vices of the constitution, left the amelioration of it to their successors.

3d Oct.
1791.
Meeting of
the legisla-
tive assem-
bly.

The legislative assembly, much more exceptionably composed than the constituent, began their career, in imitation of their predecessors, by attacking the royal prerogative. So much had already been taken from the king, that nothing essential was left on which to found an attack. The constitution which they had sworn to maintain, fixed all the grand points, and they could only hope for success in such trivial cavils as would give them popularity by diminishing the respect due to the king. Hence very early in their session, they abolished the titles *sire*, and *majesty*; decreed that when he came to the assembly, he should no longer be complimented by the deputies standing when he stood, and sitting

5th Oct.
Their
petulance.

" and improved civilization, and grafted on the feudal system *the best*
" *of all systems*, their laws respecting the descents and various modifica-
" tions of territorial property: to think, that a nation like this
" should not, in the course of so many centuries, have learned some-
" thing worth preserving, should not have hit upon some little code
" of laws or a few principles sufficient to form one. Idiots! who
" instead of retaining what was valuable, sound, and energetic in their
" constitution, have at once sunk into barbarity, lost sight of first
" principles, and brought forward a farrago of laws fit for Botany
" Bay! It is enough to fill the mind with astonishment and abhor-
" rence! A constitution like this may survive that of an old man, but
" nothing less than a miracle can protect and transmit it to pos-
" terity."

• See Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 410.

when

when he sat, but that every one should do as he pleased, and behave as among equals; that he should no more be seated in an arm chair, *scandalous for its magnificence*; but in a chair similar to the president's and at the president's left hand^p. These ridiculous proceedings, which display at once the malignity and meanness of their authors, were afterwards productive of others equally absurd, among which may be mentioned a debate which occupied the assembly during several days, on the king's having treated a deputation disrespectfully by only opening one folding-door for their admission^q. Feb. 1792.

It was expected that these attacks would, in time, conquer the temper of the monarch; but Louis, having accepted the terms on which he was permitted to govern, and bound himself by oath to observe them, studied the constitution with indefatigable diligence, and had even learned it by heart^r. The republican party, or those who, to advance their own projects, pretended to espouse that form of government, had now obtained a great ascendancy in the assembly, and though they were in a minority, yet their activity and popularity rendered them extremely dangerous. The people were daily alarmed by fables concerning a pretended Austrian committee; and exaggerated speculations on the consequences of the suspensive *veto*. Their minds were inflamed by tavern harangues and incendiary papers, which prepared them for the greatest atrocities. The royal family was daily insulted under their very windows in the most wanton and barbarous manner. The queen complained of these insults to Dumouriez, in the following pathetic terms. "You behold me quite disconsolate; I dare no longer

King adheres to the constitution.

Royal family insulted.

^p This decree was annulled the next day, but it shews the disposition of the assembly.

^q Debates. See Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. p. 329. Histories.

^r Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 431. Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 17. 140. Life of Dumouriez, vol. ii. p. 173.

" approach

" approach the windows that look into the garden.
 " Yesterday evening I appeared at that opposite the
 " court, to breathe a little fresh air. A cannoneer
 " of the national guard seized that opportunity to
 " overwhelm me with the grossest insults ; adding,
 " by way of conclusion, '*what pleasure would it give*
 " '*me to have your head stuck on the point of my bayonet!*'
 " In this frightful garden you see on one place a
 " man mounted on a chair, and reading the most
 " horrible calumnies against us in a loud tone of
 " voice ; on another you perceive an officer, or an
 " abbé, dragged towards a basin of water, and
 " overwhelmed with injuries and blows ; and, dur-
 " ing all this, some play at foot ball, or walk about,
 " without the least concern. What a habitation !
 " what a people !" The king and queen could no
 longer enjoy the ordinary pleasures of free com-
 munication, from a consciousness that they were sur-
 rounded with spies, and that the company of such
 persons as the public might approve would be both
 degrading and dangerous'. The assembly, instead of
 restraining, encouraged this licentiousness of the popu-
 lace ; and, though a book published by Prud'homme,
 intitled, " Crimes of the Queens of France, down
 " to the present Queen, inclusive," was advertised by
 large posting bills at the very doors of the assembly,
 the author was not subjected to the slightest repre-
 hension".

Observa-
 tions. The
 king's in-
 decision.

In this situation the king's indecision has been
 lamented and blamed by more than one writer, sin-
 cerely devoted to his interest* ; but, circumstanced as
 he was, it was almost impossible to assume a more de-
 cided conduct. Every one who blames him would
 most probably have given contradictory counsel.

* Life of Dumouriez, vol. ii. p. 207. Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. c. p. 343. Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 470.

† Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 285.

‡ Mercure François, No. du 17 Decembre 1791.

§ Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 29. Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 508.

One lavished the treasure of the civil list, in bribing the orators of the Jacobin club; another proposed securing, at all hazards, the galleries of the assembly; one projected vigorous prosecutions, and strenuous complaints; another recommended mild and conciliatory demeanor¹. The king was remarkably diffident of himself, delivered his opinions with caution, and was ever ready to yield to the majority of the council. The only exception to this was when the relief of the people or the happiness of France was the question; on these subjects he expressed himself without hesitation, and maintained his judgment with unabated resolution². These may be laid down as his leading principles; and it is easy to imagine with how much difficulty he received, and how readily he renounced any plan of operations in which they seemed to be sacrificed to a problematical hope of his own safety or welfare.

The ill-success of all his views, and the unmerited obloquy and opposition he encountered, rendered him almost desperate. He was continually changing his ministers, and endeavouring to connect himself with the different parties; he looked on all sides for a last resource; but no party either could or would unite with him. At length, he called into his council three men attached to the victorious faction³, and formed what is known by the name of the Jacobin administration⁴. He did not adopt a measure so degrading and unsafe without repugnance; but, on the contrary, shewed evident anxiety, and betrayed much sorrow and consternation⁵.

This sacrifice, however, produced but a temporary popularity, and in effect, accelerated the destruction of royalty. One of the first measures of this new

Jacobin
admini-
stration.

The king's
repugnance
to declare
war.

¹ Bertrand *passim*. Conjunction de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 159.

² Bertrand's *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 20.

³ Dumouriez, Roland, and Claviere.

⁴ Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. p. 343. *Histories*.

⁵ Bertrand's *Memoirs*, p. 99.

admi-

administration was a declaration of war, which was precisely the wish of the republicans and Orleanists, and intirely repugnant to the inclinations of the king. He had employed his orders, and even his intreaties to prevent the emigrants from committing any act of hostility; and expressed, in the strongest terms, his disapprobation at arming of the French nobles^d. Even after the declaration of war, he was so apprehensive that his subjects should suffer from the incursions of the enemy, that he sent a message to the emperor and the king of Prussia, requesting that they would not act offensively against France, without the most imperious necessity; and, even then, that they would not invade the country without publishing a conciliatory manifesto, distinguishing the king and the people from a faction who were careless about the ruin of both^e.

Conduct of
the mini-
stry.

I shall not here detail the indignities which the king daily underwent from a factious ministry, who seemed ever on the watch for opportunities to insult him. The perfidious decrees respecting the army of twenty thousand men near Paris, and the tyrannical insult offered to the king's conscience by the decree against the non-juring priests, overcame his patience, and induced him to interpose his constitutional negative. This produced the insolent and inflammatory letter of Roland. Dumouriez treacherously encouraged the king to dismiss the refractory ministers, and he was four days afterwards, in a moment of extreme danger, deserted by Dumouriez^f.

20th June
1792.
The king's
heroic be-
haviour;

These events were speedily followed by that desperate and sanguinary irruption into the palace, which threatened the life of all the royal family, and produced scenes of brutality and horror equally

^d Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 443. See Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. p. 337.

^e Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 186.

^f See DUMOURIEZ, ROLAND, Mad. ROLAND.

disgraceful

disgraceful and disgusting. To prepare the popular mind for acts of blood, the hall of the Jacobins had resounded with speeches and petitions, and the walls of Paris had been covered with placards, describing the king as a traitor to the country, and a monster not fit to reign or to live^a. The insurrection was regularly projected and organized some days before^b, and the king had received numerous intimations that he could only avoid the intended massacre of himself and family, by agreeing to sanction the obnoxious decrees. But what conscience forbade, terror could not impel him to do; he rejected with disdain all such applications, and resolved to encounter every danger rather than comply^c. When the mob, by the treachery of the national guard, had effected an entrance into the palace, the king, who had, from a window, observed their proceedings, repaired to the *ail-de-bœuf*, the door of which was immediately assailed with every engine of force which the occasion supplied; and, among others with a cannon which had been dismounted from its carriage and was now carried up stairs by manual strength, and used as a battering ram. The Swiss guards who were with the king, drew their swords, and were preparing to shed their blood in an unavailing defence; but he commanded them to desist. He then called for four grenadiers to support him, and advancing to the door, unbarred it, and presented himself defenceless to this furious multitude. His friends, fearing he would be borne down by the rapidity and violence of the mob, placed him in the recess of a window, where he leaned on M. Acloque, while a few grenadiers formed round him to resist the torrent. The mob was, fortunately, so numerous, and poured in so rapidly that no one could effect the premeditated purpose; but after

^a Fennel's Review of Proceedings, p. 26.

^b See DUMOURIÈZ, PETION.

^c Life of Dumouriez, vol. ii. p. 392.

venting a portion of fury in words and menacing gestures, was obliged to give place, and "mingle" with the herd that went before him." Yet many pointed insults were offered; a young man, whose name was Clement, stopped before the king, and reviled him in language which would have been characteristic in the mouth of his namesake, the assassin of Henry III. Legendre, the butcher, sallied into the room at the head of a new rabble, uttering threats and denouncing vengeance; he accosted the monarch in the language of the shambles, "*Mon-sieur*," said he, and seeing the king surprised at this new style, he repeated it, "Yes, *Mon-sieur*, listen to us—Yes, *Mon-sieur*, it is your duty to listen to us; you are a traitor; you have always deceived us, and deceive us still; but take care of yourself, *Mon-sieur*; the measure is full, and the people are tired being your dupes." After this harangue the king was pressed by the mob to put on the red cap; one of them presented to him a bottle, and desired him to drink the health of the nation. Some one offered to fetch a glass; the king refused the offer, and immediately, without fear and without repugnance, he applied the impure vessel to his lips, and drank the uncertain beverage. Taking advantage of the confusion of the moment, a fellow, evidently in liquor, forced his way close to the king, and hearing him say that the nation had no better friend than himself, required him to prove it by putting on the red-cap; the king consented, and two of them placed it on the top of his hair, for it was too small for his head. The king yielded to this indignity under a firm persuasion that had he resisted, the drunken man would have plunged his pike into his bowels. Still the fury of the rabble fell short of the hopes of the conspirators; and though the most infamous libels were hawked about and sold at low prices in the garden of the palace, and the most treasonable and inflammatory falsehoods scratched and

and chalked on the walls, yet the work of murder was left incomplete, and the virtue of the monarch once more triumphed over the plots of his enemies. Petion at length arrived, and dismissed the mob. Advancing to the king, he said, "Sire, I was only "this moment informed of your situation^k, but "you have nothing to fear."—"Nothing to fear!" replied the king with indignation, "The man whose "conscience is pure, and free from reproach, can "never fear. Here, my friend," he added, taking the hand of a grenadier, and pressing it against his bosom, "feel, and tell that man if my heart beats "faster than usual." This was not the only instance of heroic firmness which the king displayed in the course of this dreadful day. The mob frequently pressed him with furious acclamation to sanction the decrees, and recal the ministers. His reply was, "I shall do what I consider to be right; but "this is not the moment for you to ask, or for me to "grant favors."

Great part of the popular rage was, as usual, directed against the queen; and her behaviour demonstrated that she was worthy to share the heart and throne of Louis. On the first alarm she caught up the dauphin in her arms, and ran towards the *ail-de-bœuf*; but the influx of the mob had already stopped the passages, she was prevented fulfilling her first intention, and doomed to reflect, with regret, that she could not offer herself a sacrifice to the assassins who might have accepted her life instead of the king's. She was stopped in the council-room by general Wittenghoff and the minister Lajarre; they formed a feeble rampart of the council-table, be-

of the
queen.

^k This assertion of the virtuous mayor of Paris must have been false, considering that the plot had been in agitation several days, that it had been preceded by treats in the gardens of the Palais Royal and the cabarets, and that the whole mob of *sans-culottes* had made a procession through many streets of Paris, and through the hall of the assembly. See PETION, CHABOT, and ORLEANS.

hind

hind which they placed the queen, the dauphin, the princess royal, and all the ladies who refused to quit her side. This table was defended by a double line of national guards, and there the queen was obliged to remain during the whole of these horrible scenes, agonized by a knowledge of the king's danger, and a helpless hearer of the incendiary and obscene reproaches which men and women of the lowest class seemed unwearied in repeating. The dauphin, like his unfortunate father, was disguised in the blood-coloured emblem of licentiousness; and the queen was compelled to submit to the same disgrace. Marie-Antoinette displayed the same contempt of danger which distinguished the king; she was desirous to send back a body of grenadiers whom the king had detached for her protection; but they persisted in obeying their first orders. At length Santerre arrived; and the appearance of the queen softened, for a moment, even his savage heart; he assured her of protection, and assisted in dispersing the mob.

of the
princess
Elizabeth.

The behaviour of the princess Elizabeth in this trying scene was truly sublime and heroic. When the king went to the *ail-de-bauf* she would not leave his side for a moment. The mob, rushing into the palace, and eager to begin the work of regicide, mistook her for the queen, and loaded her with insults and threats. Some of her attendants explained the mistake in spite of her intreaties to the contrary: "For God's sake," she said, "do not undeceive them; is it not better they should shed my blood than that of my sister?" In the whole course of the day she never left her brother's side, nor ever lost her presence of mind; but when a deputy, named Lesueur, who stood by the king's side, fainted from extreme agitation, she actively assisted in forwarding his recovery.

¹ Necker on the Revolution, vol. ii. p. 292.

At nine o'clock at night the palace was cleared, and the insulted family left to themselves. The king had been so totally occupied in attending to what was passing around him, that he had forgot to remove from his head the ignominious emblem placed on it by the hand of sedition, and continued to wear it for some time after those who had compelled him to assume it were departed. The royal family retired to rest, uncertain of a moment's security; and convinced that their treacherous guards would, at any time, yield to the desires of a mob, and admit a band of assassins into the palace. The next day some slight commotion occurred near the palace; the dauphin, whose experience of wretchedness made him apprehensive of danger beyond what might be expected from his years, said to the queen, "What, mamma, is not yesterday over yet?"

Retreat of
the mob.

When the palace was completely evacuated, the king sent for two justices of the peace to examine into particulars, and, by a legal act, attest the violation of the royal asylum. The next day he wrote to the assembly, complaining of the indignity he had suffered, and recommending to them to take the proper measures for maintaining the constitution. Some motions were attempted in order to give effect to this message, but over-ruled by the majority and by the tribunes, who accused the speakers of calumniating the peopleⁿ. The duke de la Rochefoucauld, president of the department of Paris, exerted himself to bring the agents in this conspiracy to justice, and obtained a decree suspending Petion and Manuel from their functions. This decree was referred to the king for his sanction; but as it concerned him

Suspension
of Petion
and Ma-
nuel.

7th July

ⁿ For further details concerning the conspiracy and transactions of this day, see PETION. The account here given is derived from the Histories; from Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 202 to 222.; Fennel's Review to p. 97. Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. p. 348.; Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 176 to 185.; and Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 300.

^a Debates. Fennel's Review, p. 122.

personally, he wished to decline interfering. This moderation was inconsistent with the views of his enemies, who were desirous to bring the contest between the popular Petion and the calumniated king to a personal issue. When, therefore, the king's letter was read, la Source observed, that it was not in the option of the assembly to release the executive power from doing its duty, and the king was obliged to confirm the sentence of suspension. The result was such as might be expected; the mayor and procureur were acquitted, and the odium of their prosecution was shared between the king and M. de la Rochefoucauld^a.

23th July.

Plan to
murder
the queen.

The downfall of royalty was now considered as certain; and while the confederates of Brissot were arranging their plans in secret, and meditating their consummation with all the refinements of treachery and hypocrisy, a more determined band had resolved to begin in blood, and accomplish their purpose by means of assassination. The worthless Santerre formed a plan to murder the queen, which was to be performed by a grenadier on the day of the confederation. The project, however, was disclosed and frustrated; the grenadier was apprehended at the foot of the queen's staircase with a cutlass concealed in the lining of his coat; a justice of the peace, named Maingeot, took the necessary depositions, but the grenadier was rescued by a party of ruffians; Maingeot was massacred on the 10th of August, and his papers seized and delivered to Santerre^c.

24th July.
Confede-
ration.

Previous to the third confederation, every effort had been used to inflame the public mind with false suspicions. Reports were raised of a pretended conspiracy, and the *Ecole Militaire*, where the regular troops were quartered, was pointed out as the centre

^a Debates. Histories. Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 224. See PETION and MANUEL.

^c Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 342.

of danger; it was said that arms, ammunition, and artillery had been privately introduced and concealed there; and that the guards had, for some time, been employed in digging a subterraneous passage, and forming a mine under the altar, with the intent of blowing up the national assembly at the moment they were taking the oath. This "Gun-powder Treason," although totally improbable, and incompatible with the king's character, gained such general credit that it was thought necessary, in order to remove the fears of the people, to send the guards away from Paris a few days previous to the federation, and cause the place pointed out by suspicion to be thoroughly examined. The king, queen, and all the court went early in the morning to the *Ecole Militaire*, and placed themselves in a balcony, where they had a full view of the *Champ de Mars*. The rails of the balcony were covered with crimson velvet, which excited the petulance of the mob, and gave rise to many scurrilous animadversions. The oath having been taken, the king was required to set fire to a ridiculous and insulting pageant called the Tree of Feudality; which he refused, and returned to the balcony where he had left his family, amidst cries of *Vive Petion! Vivent les Jacobins! A bas le Veto! A bas le Departement, &c.* Yet notwithstanding the previous efforts and the riotous disposition of the mob, the day passed without any serious attempt; and the people separated quietly.

For a long time past the king had contemplated the destruction of royalty and his own murder as unavoidable; and the transactions of the twentieth of June strengthened the impression. He had expressed these forebodings in the strongest terms to several persons; but they were not attended with feebleness of con-

The king's apprehensions.

* Fennel's Review, p. 136 et seq.

duſt, or an unmanly ſolicitude about his fate¹. Nor were theſe forebodings, at this time, the reſult of mere dejection, but inevitable inferences from the avowed ſentiments of the legiſlature, where Condorcet had declared, that the king or the conſtitu-

25th July.

¹ Life of Dumouriez vol. ii. p. 409. The following Extract from Bertrand's Memoirs (vol. ii. p. 296.) paints the mind of the monarch in colours ſo vivid and juſt, that I cannot reſiſt tranſcribing it. " Ever ſince the day on which he was ſtopped at Varennes, the unhappy prince had been deeply impreſſed with the idea that he ſhould be aſſaſinated; that all attempts to evade his deſtiny would have no effect but that of increaſing the danger of his family and friends. Under this melancholy impreſſion, he waited for death with a reſignation ſo calmly heroic, that it might have been miſtaken for an indifference about life. He frequently read the Hiſtory of Charles the Firſt of England: his chief attention was to endeavour, in every act, to avoid whatever might ſerve as a pretext for bringing him to a legal trial. The ſacrifice of his life ſeemed to coſt him nothing. The honour of the nation was the ſole object of his thoughts. The idea of being publicly murdered, in the name of the people, ſhocked him greatly. He wiſhed rather to die by the hands of an aſſaſin, that his murder might be conſidered as the crime of a few individuals, and not a national act. In a converſation with this unhappy prince on the 21ſt of June, I diſcovered that his mind was deeply impreſſed with the moſt dreadful forebodings. To my congratulations on his having eſcaped the dangers of the preceding day, his majeſty answered, ' My uneaſineſs was entirely on account of the queen and my ſiſter; for myſelf I had no ſolicitude.' ' But it ſeems to me,' ſaid I, ' that it was chiefly againſt your majeſty that the inſurrection was directed.' ' I know it very well,' answered he; ' I ſaw that their intention was to aſſaſinate me; and I can't conceive why they did not do it: but I ſhall not eſcape them another day; ſo that I am not the more fortunate. It is much the ſame whether I am murdered two months ſooner or later.' ' My God!' cried I, ' does your majeſty really believe that you will be aſſaſinated?' ' I am convinced of it,' replied he; ' I have long expected it; I have made up my mind to it. Do you think I fear death?' ' No, certainly; but I wiſh to ſee your majeſty leſs convinced that you are near it, and more diſpoſed to adopt the vigorous meaſures from which alone you can expect ſafety.' ' There may be a poſſibility of my eſcaping; but there are many chances againſt it; and I am not lucky. I might riſk another attempt if I were alone. Oh! if my wife and children were not with me, it would ſoon appear that I am not ſo weak as is imagined; but what would become of them if the meaſures you allude to ſhould fail?' ' But if your majeſty ſhould be aſſaſinated, do you think that your family would be in greater ſafety?' ' Yes; I think they would: I hope ſo at leaſt; and if it ſhould happen otherwiſe, I could not be reproached with being the cauſe."

tion

tion must fall ; from the growing malignity of the faction which had been a principal cause of all his misfortunes ; from the increasing audacity of the journalists ; from the pertinacity and virulence of the petitioners to the assembly ; and from the contempt with which he was treated '.

The king's situation was rendered more critical, and his downfall precipitated by la Fayette's imprudent and ill-concerted journey to Paris, which displayed at once his folly and vanity. A regular conspiracy was formed to produce an insurrection of the people, and make it the means of abolishing monarchy. The conspirators had arranged their plan, and fixed the epoch of its execution for the twenty-ninth of July. Ten days before that period the king's friends being informed of the particulars, took such measures as they thought would frustrate, and which did, in effect, postpone the completion of the plan. But the king, by an act of generosity, which while we deplore we cannot but admire, lost an opportunity of defeating every plot, and reducing his chief opponents to an unconditional submission. Vergniaud, Guadet, and Genfonné, three principal leaders of the Gironde party, commissioned Bosc, the painter, to transmit to the king a letter

His danger.

Generosity of the king.

* The following pathetic instance of this disrespect is given by Montjoye : " Even the musicians of the royal chapel took a pleasure in announcing to Louis his approaching fate. One Sunday, they dwelt with so much persistency, with such a loud and indecent joy, on the words of the *Magnificat*, *deposuit potentis de sede*, (he hath put down the mighty from their seat,) that every one instantly understood that the wretches were celebrating, before-hand, the massacre of the king, by whose bounty they had been supported. The ferocious chaunt of these musicians, the majesty of the place, the sanctity of the ceremony, the presence of the victims, the indecency of so black an act of ingratitude, all contributed to fill the minds of the audience with sinister forebodings. The king alone shewed himself unaffected ; his spouse, his sister, and his daughter, melted into tears. The queen afterwards declared, that no outrage had ever rent her heart more cruelly than that unfortunate *deposuit potentis*." Conjur-
ration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 180.

signed by them, announcing an intended insurrection, the mildest consequence of which was the dethronement of the king; and that the only means of avoiding this catastrophe was to recall Roland, Servan, and Claviere to the ministry. Had the king retained the original, and circulated copies of this letter, the profligate party in whose behalf it was written, would have been degraded and incapable of a vigorous effort; their auxiliaries Danton, Marat, and Robespierre, seeing themselves thus unconditionally sacrificed, would have precipitated the open rupture which shortly afterwards took place; Orleans would have withdrawn his protection from, or perhaps have publicly opposed these time-serving traitors; and in this division of the factions the king's party might have obtained a preponderance which would have given countenance and energy to the exertions of la Fayette, and established the throne. Unfortunately the king, on this occasion, consulted only his natural generosity. His extreme goodness extended even to the wicked, and prevented his turning against them those weapons with which they themselves had furnished him. Without consulting any one, he returned the letter to his valet-de-chambre, from whom he received it, with a reprimand, and ordered him to give it back to Bose, and tell him that no answer could be made to such a proposal¹.

His dangerous situation.

This forbearance did not proceed from any alteration in his sentiments respecting his situation; on the contrary, he was in daily apprehension of being assassinated; and the alarms were so constantly kept up, that from the twentieth of June he always

¹ Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 8—9. Let it be remembered that Guadet, Genoulon, and Vergniaud all voted for the king's death, though he had so generously spared them; and though a principal accusation against him was a conspiracy which they knew to have originated with themselves.

Hept

slept in his cloaths". In consequence of the events of that day of horrors, the king had shut up the garden of the Tuilleries, which was part of the private property left him by the nation. This excited the petulance of the mob, who presented petitions replete with suggestions of surmised treachery, and requiring that the gardens might again be opened. The assembly, ever ready to crouch to the populace, immediately decreed that the terrace of the Feuillans, which formed part of the gardens, still belonged to them; and threw it open to the people. When this concession was obtained, the garden was divided by a three-coloured ribband, which the people, in a manner the most insulting to the royal family, resolved not to pass; but they audaciously reviled them by speeches, songs, and libels, which were vociferated on the terrace, and pinned to the ribband of separation*.

Meanwhile the conspirators were proceeding in the completion of their plans; petitions of the most seditious tendency were daily presented, demanding the dethronement of the king, and branding him with every odious and disgraceful appellation†. The nature of the plot against him was well known, and nothing remained but to fix the precise period. From the fourth of August every hour was expected to produce some dreadful event; the workmen of the Fauxbourgs were kept in pay from the first of August, and passed their days and nights in drinking, and attending the signals of their chiefs‡. The knowledge of the plot was diffused all over the country, and as early as the sixth of August, Dr. Moore, travelling through Clermont, heard the particulars detailed, and the ninth mentioned as the

Progress
of the con-
spiracy.

* Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 190. Pagès, vol. i. p. 470.

† Historical Account by a National Guard, p. 2. Fennel's Review, p. 271. Peltier's late Picture of Paris, vol. i. p. 39.

‡ Debates. Moore's Journal, vol. i. p. 22, 24, &c. &c.

* Historical Account by a National Guard, p. 30.

day when it was to take effect^a. The conspirators were enabled to assume this audacity, so discordant to the nature of conspiracies in general, by persuading the people that many soldiers had been observed going into the Tuilleries with muskets and returning without them; that arms, ammunition, artillery, bombs, torches, and every kind of military preparation were concealed in the palace^b. The mob was induced to believe, that the thousand or twelve hundred men in the Tuilleries were to cut the throats of all the inhabitants of Paris, and that the insurrection was concerted only to defeat this terrible project^c.

Exertions
of the
king's
friends.

He refuses
to escape.

The king's friends beheld with anxiety the progress of these events. Ever since the twentieth of June they had strongly enforced the necessity of leaving the capital; his escape would, perhaps, have met with little opposition, as the conspirators were no less desirous of his departure^d. But all schemes proposed to him for this purpose he constantly rejected, persuaded that they would not be attended with the desired success, hoping that the people would in time return to a sense of their duty, or unwilling by any formal act to abdicate a throne which he held as a birthright, and considered as a trust of which he had no authority to divest himself^e. His friends strenuously exerted themselves to save him, they posted *placards* announcing the plan of the proposed insurrection, and inviting all good citizens to unite in this momentous crisis; but these exhortations had no effect^f. A negotiation was com-

^a Moore's Journal, vol. i. p. 8.

^b Fennel's Review, p. 340.

^c Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. p. 360. See also *Histoire de la Conspiration du 10 Aout* par M. Bigot de St. Croix, p. 34.

^d *Conjuration de d'Orleans*, vol. iii. p. 158.

^e See Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 496. Journal, vol. ii. p. 226. Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. & iii. *passim*. Historical Account by a National Guard, p. 31. *Conjuration de d'Orleans*, vol. iii. p. 170.

^f Historical Account by a National Guard, p. 31.

mented

menced with Brissot, but his terms were so exorbitant, and the treasury of the civil list so exhausted, that he could not be gratified^a.

The king awaited the approaching storm with serenity and fortitude, and having resolutely adhered to the constitution, determined still to be governed by it. On the first Sunday in August he held his last levee, which was numerously attended, and the inquietude and grief which the situation of the royal family inspired was expressed in the countenances of many persons present. On the ensuing day the king renounced for the last time a feasible project of escape which had been concerted for him^b. To obviate, however, the suspicions entertained that arms were concealed, the king published a proclamation, inviting the mayor and municipal officers, or any other persons the assembly might appoint, to search the palace. A certain number of persons attended accordingly, but did not discover the slightest indication of the supposed preparations^c.

The crisis was now rapidly approaching; the acquittal of la Fayette had given great offence, and the next day, when the question of the king's deposition was to be debated, an immense mob was collected round the palace, and at the doors of the assembly. From these appearances, and from the intention publicly avowed of attacking the palace at midnight, the king made such dispositions for defence as the time and circumstances allowed. He sent for Petion, and engaged him to remain in the palace to preserve order, and keep the national guards to their duty; but the traitor knowing this would expose the projects of his associates to a probable failure, contrived to be called away by a decree of the assembly. The king, who had not been in bed all night, descended into the court-yard at half

His prudent conduct.
5th Aug.

8th,

9th.

10th.

Attack of
the palace.

^a Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 62. See BRISOT.

^b Ibid. p. 43.

^c Fennel's Review, p. 340.

past five, and, attended by the queen, the princess Elizabeth, and several ladies, reviewed his guards, who displayed the best dispositions, and cried *Vive le Roi* ! the cannoneers, however, exclaimed *Vive la Nation* ! and two battallions, who had been introduced during the review, shouted *Vive Petion* ! while others without exclaimed, *à bas le veto ! à bas le traître* ! All hopes from the national guard were now at an end ; who, soon after the departure of their commander Mandat, united with the mob, and re-echoed their cries. There is no probability that the king intended to employ force, or make any attack on the people ; his only hope was, that by maintaining a strong guard and military appearance, he might be safe till the assembly should have taken measures to quell this formidable tumult. He now felt the want of those friends whom former persecution had driven to emigrate, and who, had they been present, would by their advice and valour have aided his cause. There were about twelve or thirteen hundred gentlemen in the palace, besides the seven hundred Swiss guards ; but they were not furnished with arms or ammunition to repel an assault. There were three thousand Swiss at Courbevoye, whom the conspirators had removed from the capital, and who, had they received orders to march without delay to Paris, might have averted the effects of the insurrection ; but these precautions were not adopted. The mob increased to an alarming number, and expressed the most sanguinary intentions.

The king
persuaded
to repair
to the as-
sembly.

While the royal family were consulting on the measures most proper to be adopted in the present emergency, Rœderer, the *procureur-syndic*, entered the chamber, and bluntly exclaiming, that no person should interfere between the king and the department, demanded to speak with their majesties in private. He remonstrated on the danger to which they were exposed, and insisted that defence was useless, and that their only asylum would be in the national assembly.

assembly. The queen immediately penetrated into the true meaning of this hypocritical proposal; and indignantly answered, "Nail me to the walls rather than remove me from the palace!" The king, however, was more disposed to comply, and at length the queen, overcome by solicitations and urged in the name of her children, whose safety was endangered, reluctantly yielded. "It is the last sacrifice," she said, "and it must be made." The king's conduct on this occasion has been vehemently censured, and I think with some reason. He was sufficiently apprized by his friends as well as enemies, that the insurrection aimed at nothing less than his political destruction; and he was wrong to desert his defenders till their cause was absolutely hopeless. His conduct can only be accounted for by recurring to two motives. His aversion to bloodshed, and his hope that the people at large were not so depraved as either his friends or enemies had represented them. It is certain that he had no intention that force should be used till the last extremity; and when he left the palace, he expected soon to have been able to send tidings of peace and safety. These hopes were founded on the acquittal of la Fayette, and on the moderation shewn by some members in the preceding day's debate. Cowardice was not among his motives; he had long been prepared to resign his life; and had, in the course of that day, given the most unequivocal proofs of courage*.

The royal family and their attendants reached the hall of the assembly without injury, though not without insult. His arrival was a real victory to the conspirators, but they dissembled their savage

His reception.

* The following may serve as an instance of the king's magnanimity. When the two battalions of national guards arrived at the palace, they shewed such dispositions as induced a grenadier who was near the king, to advise him to remove, as he was within reach of the levelled arms of his enemies. "I am sorry," said the king, "to hear a grenadier confess he is afraid; as for me, I have no fear." See Historical Account by a National Guard, p. 18.

exultation till the fate of the day was decided. As soon as he arrived, the king seated himself by the side of the president, and addressed the assembly in these words : " I am come hither to prevent a great crime. " — Among you, gentlemen, I believe myself in " safety." Guadet, who sat as president *pro tempore*, replied, " You may rely, Sire, on the firmness " of the national assembly ; its members have sworn " to die in defence of the rights of the people, and " of the constituted authorities." The royal family relied so implicitly on this promise, that the queen expressed her satisfaction to M. d'Hervilly, a Swiss officer, that the plans for their escape had been rejected. The president having observed that an article in the constitution forbade the assembly to continue its deliberations in presence of the king, his majesty descended to the bar, where his family were sitting ; but this not appearing to remove the objection, the royal family and their attendants were crowded into a small box, six feet square and eight feet high, situated behind the president's chair, and called the *Loge du Logographe*, where the reporters for that newspaper were accustomed to sit. They had scarcely taken this station when the noise of firing was heard, occasioned by the attack on the palace, and the resistance of the Swiss. The king immediately dispatched M. d'Hervilly to order the Swiss to lay down their arms and repair to the assembly ; but victory soon declared for the *sans-culottes*, and pillage and massacre speedily ensued.

Suspension
of the
king.

The assembly now disclaimed all further reserve. Some petitions had been presented before this event, requiring the king's deposition ; but the legislative body temporized with the petitioners. When the danger was removed, they received the deputations, which thronged in presenting ridiculous and inflammatory petitions, with fraternal kindness, and invitations to the honors of the sitting. Finally, in a tumultuous sitting, where less than three hundred deputies

deputies were mixed with a countless rabble of men, women, and children, some in rags, some armed, some covered with blood, and uttering dreadful imprecations, the assembly proceeded to pronounce the decree for suspending the royal functions, and calling a national convention.

During this day, the last in which Louis was distinguished with the name of king, he sustained unexampled indignities with calmness and triumphant courage. When the conquest of the palace was certain, not only the mob, but some of the deputies, insulted the king and royal family with the coarsest invectives. One man leaned over the rails of the *Loge du Logographe*, and with his hat on, placing his head near the king's, reviled him with every term of abuse which language could supply; and Chabot took occasion to observe, that all the miseries of the country were owing to the perjuries of that traitor there, illustrating his assertion by pointing at the king. To give a plausible pretext to the decree of suspension, a deputation announced that the palace was on fire, and that the flames should be permitted to rage till the will of the people was complied with. Vergniaud, who was the president *pro tempore*, prefaced the decree with an hypocritical declaration of regret, though it was a consummation of the known wishes of all the faction with whom he was connected. During this whole day, the king took no refreshment but a peach or a biscuit, and a glass of water, the queen nothing but a basin of soup; on the succeeding days their meals were supplied by a neighbouring *traiteur*.

At one o'clock in the morning the unfortunate sovereign and his family were taken from the *Loge du Logographe*, and conveyed to a small apartment, consisting of four rooms, which belonged to the architect of the Feuillans. On the ensuing days, they were placed in the same *loge* as before, and remained the whole day exposed to the heat of the sun, to the insolence of the assembly and of the rabble,

Indignities.

11th, 12th, and 13th. Treatment of the royal family.

rabble, and to imminent danger of assassination. This danger was, during the first day, so alarming that many persons thought the massacre certain ; and the king and the ministers pulled up the iron railing which separated them from the assembly, that they might in a moment take refuge in the hall. Their apprehensions were not derived from slight circumstances, as the assembly seemed to encourage the mob in their ferocity ; and the words *LA MORT* were chalked in large letters over the *Loge du Logographe*. In this situation they remained from Friday, when they first came into the assembly, to Monday, when they were sent to prison. Their guards had been changed for fear of seduction ; and some of their friends dismissed and others murdered.

Their imprisonment.

It was at first determined to confine them in the hotel of the minister of justice, and this was decreed ; but Manuel appeared at the bar, and proposed the Temple as their prison. When the president reminded him of the decree already passed, he replied, that in the house of the minister of justice, the department could not be answerable for the safety of the royal family, as it was surrounded by other houses, by means of which their escape might be effected. This argument was admitted ; and the royal prisoners were conducted to the Temple at three o'clock in the afternoon. During this journey, the concourse of people was prodigious ; they insisted that the glasses of the carriage should be kept down to indulge a brutal and malignant curiosity. Petion, vain of his situation, and perhaps remembering with rancour the superior distinction shewn to Barnave during the journey with the royal family, in their return from Varennes, affected to take umbrage at the queen's manner of surveying the people, and desired her to look with more mildness. The mob shouted *Vive la Nation !* and insulted the prisoners with every species of scurrility ; but they abstained from acts of violence, and the carriage arrived in safety

safety at the Temple. Petion conducted the king to an apartment, where he informed him he was to sleep. The king observed, that he supposed he should, at least, be allowed to sleep where he pleased. "No," replied the Jacobin mayor, "this is your bed-room, and here you are to sleep. Such are the commands of the people!"

From the moment of the king's suspension, every art was used to inflame the public, and give a bias to their sentiments unfavourable to royalty. Papers found, or pretended to have been found, in the palace, were published and commented on with the most virulent malignity^m. Innumerable arrests took place, in which every one was included who was known to profess any attachment to the royal family, or who was suspected to have been at the Tuilleries on the ninth or tenth of Augustⁿ. The garden and street orators harangued with more than usual warmth and violence against the treachery of the king, and the profligacy of the queen. The theatres were compelled to assist in the same cause, where pieces recommending republicanism, and inculcating regicide, were presented most frequently, and with the greatest applause^o; and the form of prayer for the royal family was banished from the liturgy^p. In virtue of a proclamation from the section of Mar-seilles, every emblem of royalty, every sign on which

Arts used
to exas-
perate the
people.

¹ In the narrative I have only described the tenth of August, so far as its events affected the royal family. For further details respecting the conspiracy which produced the insurrection, and the horrors which ensued, see BRISSOT. The particulars I have given are derived from the *Debates and Histories*. From Peltier's late *Picture of Paris*, vol. i. Fennel's *Review*. *Account of the Revolt and Massacre*. *Historical and Political Account by a National Guard*. *Histoire de la Conspiration du 10 Aout*, par M. Bigot de St. Croix. *Conjuration de d'Orleans*, vol. iii. p. 186, et seq. Moore's *Journal*, vol. i. from beginning to p. 194. Moore's *View*, vol. ii. p. 496. Bertrand's *Private Memoirs*, vol. iii. p. 63.

^m Fennel's *Review*, p. 449. Peltier's late *Picture*, vol. ii. p. 77.

ⁿ *Histories*.

^o Moore's *Journal*, vol. i. p. 107.

^p *Idem*. p. 293.

was

was the portrait of a king, all the busts of imputed traitors, as la Fayette, Mirabeau, Necker, were pulled down, and demolished. All the pieces of sculpture which ornamented the porches, or other parts of palaces, churches, or private or public buildings, and came within the meaning of the proclamation, were hewn down. The words *king, prince, royal, monarch, Bourbon, &c.* were effaced throughout Paris, and the names of streets, squares, and bridges underwent a conformable alteration. A decree was obtained, from the assembly on petition, that the monuments and statues of kings should be converted into cannon. The virtues of Henry IV. so late the idol of the populace, could not atone for the crime of his having been a king. His character suspended for a moment the resolution of the demolishers, but the recollection of royalty came to their aid; the rope was put about his neck, and he was tumbled from his pedestal amidst the shouts of the mob¹. A new coinage was also decreed, in which the emblem of liberty, with the legend, *Liberty, Equality*, was substituted for the king's head; the date was altered to the first year of Liberty, and on the reverse was an oak crown².

Decrees
respecting
the king's
imprison-
ment.

Before the king departed from the assembly it was decreed, that *he and his family were confided to the care and to the virtues of the citizens of Paris*, and Manuel had promised, that in his removal to the Temple, he should be treated *with all the respect due to misfortune*³. To appreciate those virtues, and that respect, it is necessary to describe with some minuteness, the place where the royal family were incarcerated, and the manner in which they were treated during their confinement⁴.

¹ Fennel's Review, p. 403. Debates, &c.

² Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 1354.

³ Debates. Moore's Journal, vol. i. p. 96.

⁴ The following description is translated from Montjoye's Eloge, p. 210.

“ The

"The Temple is a division of small extent, situate at the north-east extremity of Paris. It forms an irregular inclosure, and at its greatest length and breadth, does not exceed an hundred fathoms. It is isolated, that is to say, forms a little, separate city, the gates of which are shut every night. Within the walls debtors were used to seek a refuge; and therefore to multiply lodgings, and accommodate a greater number of people, the whole space was divided into small narrow streets. The throng of inhabitants rendered the Temple peculiarly dirty, unhealthy, mean and melancholy. In one of the angles of this inclosure was situate the palace of the grand prior of the order of Templars. I call it a palace in compliance with the usual phrase; but the palace was not in appearance or extent distinguishable from the house of an individual of moderate fortune. It was built between a narrow court and a very small garden. Amongst the mis-shapen and Gothic piles which were contiguous might be distinguished an elevated tower, square, and flanked with small turrets, called the Great Tower.

Description of the Temple, and of the apartments allotted to the royal family.

"This tower is about a hundred and fifty feet high, and consists of four stories arched, and supported in the middle by a great pillar from the bottom to the top. The area, within the walls, was about thirty feet square*. This was the place destined by the municipal officers of Paris to be the prison of Louis XVI. and his family. The Bastille presented nothing equal in horrors to the tower of the Temple. Great expence was incurred to render this prison additionally gloomy. Part of the palace, and all the buildings adjoining to the tower were pulled down, so that it remained perfectly isolated. Around the foot of the tower was dug a wide, deep ditch. That part of the garden which

* Clery's Journal, p. 92.

was reserved for the august prisoners to walk in, was enclosed by high walls, so that the tower, built in a close situation, where the circulation of air was impeded, became still more damp and unhealthy. The staircase, leading to the king's apartment, was divided by six wickets, far more hideous than those which are seen in other prisons. The doors were so low and so narrow, that it was necessary to bend double, and move side-ways to clear the threshold. These doors were of iron, and furnished with massy bolts; they made a melancholy and terrifying noise in turning on their hinges. They were always kept shut, and a person who presented himself at one was obliged to wait till it was closed again, before he could make his progress through another. At the foot of the staircase there was a seventh wicket, with an iron door, so heavy, that to place it on its hinges required the exertion of several men. The outer door of the king's apartment was also of iron. A guard of three hundred men watched night and day about this prison. It may be supposed that this work of inhumanity could not be instantly completed; but such great impatience was shewn to shut up the king in this tower, that they would not wait till the chains for his detention were completely forged. Till the tower could be prepared, he inhabited a part of the palace of the Temple. In his hours of exercise, the unfortunate prince surveyed the preparation of the tomb, in which he and his family were to be buried alive. Yet he always maintained the same unalterable mildness, examining these horrible preparations with heroic patience. He uttered no complaint; once only, this observation escaped him: "Ah! gentlemen, what expence
" and contrivance thrown away! Be assured, I have
" no thought of escaping^b."

^b Montjoye.

" About

“ About the middle of September, to the great joy of his jailors, the king was immured in this dreary tower.

“ The second and third stories, allotted to the royal family, being, as were all the other stories, single rooms, they were now each divided into four chambers by partitions of boards. The ground floor was for the use of the municipal officers; the first story was kept as a guard room; and the king was lodged in the second. The first room of his apartments was an antichamber, from which three doors led to three separate rooms. Opposite the entrance was the king's chamber, in which a bed was placed for the dauphin; Clery's was on the left; so was the dining-room, which was divided from the anti-chamber by a glazed partition. There was a chimney in the king's chamber: the other rooms were warmed by a great stove in the anti-chamber. The light was admitted into each of these rooms by windows, but those were blocked up with great iron bars and slanting screens on the outside, which prevented a free circulation of the air: the embrasures of the windows were nine feet thick. Every story of the Great Tower communicated with four turrets built at the angles. In one of these turrets was a staircase that went up as far as the battlements, and on which the seven wickets were placed.* This staircase opened on every floor through two gates: the first of oak, very thick and studded with nails; the second of iron. Another of the turrets formed a closet to the king's chamber; the third served for a water-closet; and in the fourth was kept the fire-wood, where also the temporary beds, on which the municipal officers slept near the king, were deposited in the day-time. The four rooms, of which the king's apartments consisted, had a false ceiling of cloth, and the partitions were hung with a coloured paper. The antichamber had the appearance of

the interior of a jail, and on one of the pannels was hung the declaration of the Rights of Man, in very large characters, with a tri-coloured frame. A chest of drawers, a small bureau, four chairs with cushions, an armed chair, a few rush-bottomed chairs, a table, a glass over the chimney, and a green damask bed, were all the furniture of the king's chamber: these articles, as well as what were in the other rooms, were taken from the Temple Palace. The king's bed was that in which the count d'Artois, captain of the guards, used to sleep. The queen occupied the third story, which was distributed in much the same manner as the king's. The bedchamber for the queen and madame royale was above his majesty's: in the turret was their closet. Madame Elizabeth's room was over Clery's. The entrance served for an antichamber, where the municipal officers watched by day and slept at night. The fourth story was not occupied. A gallery ran all along within the battlements, which sometimes served as a walk. The embrasures were stopt up with blinds, to prevent the family from seeing or being seen.

Manner of
passing the
day.

The king usually rose at six in the morning*: he shaved himself, and Clery dressed his hair; he then went to his reading-room, which being very small, the municipal officer on duty remained in the bedchamber with the door open, that he might always keep the king in sight. Soon after the king was up, he read the form of prayer of the Knights of the Holy Ghost; and, as mass had not been permitted at the Temple, even on holidays, he commanded Clery to purchase a breviary, such as was used in the diocese of Paris. This monarch was of a religious turn; but his religion, pure and enlightened, never encroached upon his other duties.

His majesty continued praying on his knees for five or six minutes, and then read till nine o'clock.

* These particulars are copied from Clery's Journal, p. 41. 103.
Books

Books of travels; Montesquieu's Works; those of Buffon; De Pluche's *Spectacle de la Nature*; Hume's History of England, in English; on the Imitation of Christ, in Latin; Tasso, in Italian; and French plays, were what he usually read from his first being sent into confinement. He devoted four hours a-day to Latin authors.

While the king was thus engaged, Clery, after putting his chamber to rights, and preparing the breakfast, went down to the queen, who never opened her door till he arrived, in order to prevent the municipal officer from going into her apartment. He dressed the prince, and combed the queen's hair, then went and did the same for madame royale and madame Elizabeth. This service afforded one of the opportunities Clery had of communicating to the queen and princesses whatever he learnt; for when they found by a sign that he had something to say, one of them kept the municipal officer in talk, to divert his attention.

At nine o'clock the king and his son were summoned to breakfast: Clery attended them. He afterwards dressed the hair of the queen and princesses, and by the queen's orders taught madame royale to dress hair. While Clery was doing this, the king played at drafts or chess, sometimes with the queen, sometimes with madame Elizabeth. Clery also put the queen and the princesses' chambers to rights^d.

At

^d In this Clery was assisted by Tiffon and his wife, the only kind of work in which they gave him any help. It was not for this service only that these people were placed in the Tower; a more important part was assigned them; they were to observe whatever escaped the vigilance of the commissioners of the municipality, and even to inform against those officers themselves. They were also doubtless intended to be made useful in the perpetration of whatever crimes might enter into the plan of those who had appointed them; for the woman, who then appeared of a mild disposition, and stood in great awe of her husband, afterwards betrayed herself in an infamous accusation of the queen, at the conclusion of which she was seized with fits of madness; and as for

At ten o'clock the king and the family went down to the queen's chamber, and there passed the day. He employed himself in educating his son; made him write passages from *Cornielle* and *Racine*; gave him lessons in geography, and exercised him in colouring the maps. The prince's early quickness of apprehension fully repaid the fond cares of the king. He had so happy a memory, that on a map, covered over with a blank sheet of paper, he could point out the departments, districts, towns, and courses of the rivers. It was the new geography of France, which the king taught him. The queen, on her part, was employed in the education of her daughter; and these different lessons lasted till eleven o'clock. The remaining hour till noon was passed in needle-work, knitting, or making tapestry. At noon, the queen and princesses retired to madame Elizabeth's chamber to change their dress; no municipal officer went in with them.

At one o'clock, when the weather was fine, the royal family were conducted to the garden by four municipal officers and the commander of a legion of the national guards. A great number of workmen being employed in the Temple, pulling down houses and raising new walls, the only walk allowed was a part of that under the great chesnut-trees. Being permitted to attend on these occasions, Clery engaged the young prince to play, sometimes at football, sometimes at coits, at racing, and other active sports.

At two they returned to the Tower, where Clery served the dinner. The royal table was abundantly supplied, less from motives of respect for the mo-

Tifson, who had formerly been a custom-house officer of the lowest rank, he was an old fellow of a ferocious temper, incapable of pity, and a stranger to every sentiment of humanity. The conspirators seemed determined to place the most vicious and degraded of mankind near the most virtuous and august.

narch,

narch, than of kindness for the commissioners ; who made daily visits to the Temple to take their meals *. This is rendered more probable by the motion which Jaques Roux, a constitutional priest, made in the commune ; he said, " I propose that Louis shall be " dieted, kept upon bread and water, till his head " is cut off." At dinner-time, Santerre the brewer, who was commander in chief of the national guards of Paris, regularly came every day to the Temple, attended by two *aid-de-camps*. He minutely examined the different rooms ; the king sometimes spoke to him, but the queen never. After dinner the royal family withdrew to the queen's chamber, where their majesties usually played a party of piquet or tric-trac ; the dauphin and his sister went into the antichamber to play at battledore and shuttlecock, at Siam, or some other game. Madame Elizabeth was always with them, and generally sat at a table with a book in her hand.

Clery stayed with them too, and sometimes read, at which time he sat down in obedience to their orders. This dispersion of the royal family often perplexed the two municipal officers on guard, who, anxious not to leave the king and queen alone, were still more so not to leave one another, so great was their distrust. This was the time Madame Elizabeth took to ask Clery questions, or give him orders. He both listened to her, and answered, without taking his eyes from the book in his hand, that he might not

* Toulan, a member of the council of the commune, made the following observations on the subject : " The table at the Temple seems " to be a table for the *commune*. A number of citizens, without any " other pretence than that of having been commissioners, attend there " to eat, inasmuch that, one evening when we ought only to have " been eight, we sat down nineteen. Desirous to remedy this abuse, " we named commissioners to inquire into it ; but they only went to " the Temple to eat. The council, out of patience that these com- " missioners made no report, appointed new ones, but after the exam- " ple of the first, they only went to the Temple to eat. If we go on in " this manner, we shall all go the Temple to eat." Eloge, &c. p. 222.

be surprised by the municipal officers. The dauphin and Madame Royale, instructed by their aunt, facilitated these conversations by being noisy in their play, and often made signs to her that the officers were coming.

At four o'clock the king lay down for a few minutes, the family, with books in their hands, sitting round him, and keeping profound silence while he slept. What a sight! a monarch persecuted by hatred and calumny, fallen from his throne into a prison, yet supported by the purity of his mind, and enjoying the peaceful slumbers of the good.

On the king's waking, the conversation was resumed; and he would make Clery sit by him, while he taught his son to write. The copies Clery set were chosen by himself from the works of Montefquieu, and other celebrated authors. When this lesson was over, Clery attended the young prince to madame Elizabeth's chamber, where he played at ball or shuttlecock.

In the evening the family sat round a table, while the queen read to them from books of history, or other works proper to instruct and amuse her children, in which she often, unexpectedly, met with situations correspondent to her own, that gave birth to very afflicting reflections. Madame Elizabeth took the book in her turn, and in this manner they read till eight o'clock. Clery then gave the prince his supper in madame Elizabeth's chamber, during which the family looked on, and the king took pleasure in diverting the children, by making them guess riddles in a collection of the *Mercur de France*, which he had found in the library.

After the dauphin had supped, Clery undressed him, and the queen heard him say his prayers; he said one in particular for the princess de Lamballe; and in another he begged of God to protect the life of the marchioness de Tourzel, his governess. When the municipal officers were too near, the prince, of his
own

own accord, had the precaution to say these two prayers in a low voice. They were out of their sight only two or three minutes, just before Clery put him to bed; and if he had any thing to communicate to the queen, Clery took that opportunity. He acquainted her with the contents of the journals. When they were no longer permitted in the Tower, a newsmen, sent on purpose, used to come every night at seven o'clock, and standing near the wall by the side of the Round Tower in the Temple enclosure, read, several times over, an account of all that had been passing at the national convention, at the commune, and in the armies. Clery, placing himself in the king's reading-room, listened, and with the advantage of perfect silence, remembered all he heard.

At nine the king went to supper; while the queen and madame Elizabeth took it in turns to stay with the dauphin; and as Clery carried them whatever they wanted from the table, it afforded another opportunity of speaking to them without witnesses.

After supper the king went for a moment to the queen's chamber, shook hands with her and her sister for the night, and kissed his children; then going to his own apartment, he retired to the turret-room, where he sat reading till midnight. The queen and the princesses locked themselves in, and one of the municipal officers remained in the little room which parted their chambers, where he passed the night; the other followed his majesty.

Clery then made up his bed near the king's; but his majesty, before he went to rest, waited to know who was the new municipal officer on duty; and if he had never seen him, commanded Clery to inquire his name. The municipal officers were relieved at eleven o'clock in the morning, five in the afternoon, and at midnight.

At night, after bed-time, the municipal officers ranged their beds in the antichamber in such a man-

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ner as to block up his majesty's door. They also locked one of the doors in Clery's room, by which he could have gone into the king's and took away the key; so that if his majesty happened to call him in the night, he was forced to pass through the antichamber, bear their ill-humour, and wait till they chose to get up.

2d Sept.
Cruelty to
the royal
family.

Before the confinement of the royal family in these apartments, they had fresh occasion to contemplate an example of Parisian ferocity in the massacres of September. Great fears were entertained for their safety during those days; but the commissioners on duty succeeded in preventing the mob from executing any ferocious project with which their leaders might have inspired them. But though they were restrained from violence, they committed an act of brutality, from which the most unenlightened savages would have recoiled with horror. The head of the princess de Lamballe, carried on a pike, and her heart above it, were paraded before the windows of the Temple. The queen instantly fainted, and both she and the princess Elizabeth were taken extremely ill. Two commissioners were with the king; one of them, hearing the shouts, and recognizing the head, invited him to see a curious exhibition. The king was advancing towards the window, when the other commissioner interposed, saying that the sight was too shocking; and placing his hand before his eyes, prevented him from seeing it. The king after-

^f Moore's Journal, vol. i. p. 315. Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 318. Clery. I regret that a British officer should have disgraced humanity by an *extenuation* of the horrid scenes of these days. I had made a resolution not to advert to his work, but in this case the misrepresentation is so gross, and the author has related the facts with so much indecorous buffoonery, that indignation compels notice, and silence would be culpable. He says, that the bleeding head of the princess de Lamballe was raised upon a pike, with her heart as a *mock coronet above it*; that the queen did not drop a tear or mourn the victim of attachment, but rose above private sensibility, and on the mob retiring, took her seat *apparently unaffected*, and picked a bunch of grapes with the greatest sang froid. See James's Extenuation, p. 25, and note.

wards related this anecdote to M. de Malesherbes, who requested the names of the commissioners; he told that of the humane man, without hesitation, but declined mentioning the other, alleging, "that it could do him no credit at that time; and might possibly, at some future period bring him to trouble".

It is said, that at this period Louis was persuaded by Petion, Kersaint, and Manuel, to write to the king of Prussia, requesting him to withdraw his forces from the French territory, and that he was promised, that on this condition his own life and the lives of his family should be saved^a. This account, however, is disproved by Clery.

Report of the king's writing to the king of Prussia.

The first public act of the national convention was the abolition of royalty; this measure was announced to the king by Manuel, who received this patriotic answer: "If the French people are really happier under a republican government, than under a monarchy, their happiness will prove a sufficient compensation for all my sacrifices¹." When this point had been obtained, a virulent and clamorous party speedily arose in the convention, who demanded his trial, or rather his execution without a trial; and persevered till their efforts were crowned with success.

1st Sept. Abolition of royalty.

Notwithstanding the exertions of the king's enemies in traducing his character, they appear to have been actuated by a constant dread lest his virtues should be acknowledged by the people, and occasion a return of humanity and affection. Thus, after the abolition of royalty, they incessantly laboured to take advantage of petty circumstances to degrade and render him unpopular. Their first effort was directed against a clock, which was inscribed with the maker's name, and the addition of clock-maker *to the king*; a wafer was placed over the word king, that

Increasing rancour of the king's enemies.

^a Eloge, p. 234. Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 527.

¹ Pages, vol. ii. p. 44.

¹ Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 9.

it might no more be remembered*. His star and ribbands were successful topics of animadversion, and were deemed improper ornaments after the abolition of royalty; a deputation of the *commune* attended the king to require that he should desist from wearing them, and he yielded with manly indifference¹. Even the misery and disgrace which the republicans themselves had occasioned, were imputed to the monarch as crimes. On the tenth of August, the pillage of the palace was so complete, that the royal family had not even a change of apparel. The king was obliged to accept of some from his valets-de-chambre, Chamilly and Hue, and in order to supply the immediate wants of his queen and sister, to require a loan of two thousand five hundred and twenty-six livres, (110*l.* 10*s.* 5*d.*) from Petion. The Jacobin mayor had not the delicacy to keep the transaction a secret; but the king's receipt, with an insulting comment from the editor, was published in Condorcet's paper, *le Chronique de Paris*².

Separated
from the
queen.

From the day of the king's captivity, it had been a favourite project with his enemies to separate him from the queen. A petition to this effect was read in the assembly soon after the tenth of August; and in the course of the same month a member again introduced the subject in terms offensive to humanity³.

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* Eloge, p. 215. Clery. ¹ Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 377.

² Idem; p. 370. Lady Gower, the duchess de Grammont, and the duke de Choiseul, at first supplied the royal family with a few necessaries, but this permission was soon suspended. Peltier's late Picture, vol. i. p. 259.

³ Damouréte said, "I do not like that Louis XVI. should be
" with his family. Depend upon it that means will be found to open
" a communication between the Temple and Coblenz: between
" Marie-Antoinette and the contemptible remnants of what was
" once her court, who escaped the hands of popular justice on the
" tenth of August. Is it not enough that this cruel and blood-thirsty
" woman, the female executioner, who even now, in the very inmost
" recesses of the place which you have marked for her confinement, is
" devising means for bathing herself in our blood? Is it not enough, I
" say, that this woman is still suffered to breathe; but must she also
" be allowed to vent her rage in the bosom of nature, and form con-
" nexions

The assembly, however, passed to the order of the day. But when the trial of Louis was determined on, the decree was obtained and rigorously executed. A total privation of all the consolations to be derived from society was one of the modes of torture by which the legislature thought proper to embitter the existence of the royal family. When they first went to the Temple, the princess de Lamballe and madame de Tourzel, and some of the bedchamber women, were with the queen and dauphin; and the king was attended by two of his valets-de-chambre, Chamilly and Hue. Of these they were, from time to time, and on various pretences, deprived. The ladies were imprisoned; on the second of September the princess de Lamballe was murdered, and the rest narrowly escaped. Chamilly and Hue were dismissed from their attendance, and had very nearly been sacrificed to the popular rage. They were

Deprived
of attend-
ants;

"nations abroad with those who betray us? If weighty considerations still prevent you from sending to Orleans this implacable scourge of the French nation, come at least to some resolution for making her devour in solitude her impotent rage; and take such steps as that Louis XVI., given up wholly to his own heavy nothingness, (*sa lourde nullité*.) may be able to hold converse only with his shame and his remorse. I move, then, that the king and the different persons of his family may be deprived of all communication with one another." Debates, August 30. Moore's Journal, vol. i. p. 124. 244.

* After the king was separated from his family, he devoted those hours to reading which he had before spent in conversation. He had a real passion for study, and thirst after knowledge. He preferred the Latin authors to the French, and never went to bed without having read some pages of Tacitus, Titus Livius, Seneca, Horace, Virgil, or Terence. He preferred voyages and travels to all other books written in his own language. The day before his death he calculated that he had read in the five months and seven days he had passed in the Temple, two hundred and fifty-seven volumes, *Eloge*, &c. p. 226. Madame Roland acknowledges his fondness for study. She says, "Louis XVI. had moreover a good memory, and a great share of activity; he was never unemployed, and read a great deal." *appel à l'Impartiale Postérité*, vol. ii. p. 6. Yet Dr. Moore was so much misinformed as to say that the king was a man "with an uncommon share of indolence." Journal, vol. i. p. 432. I mention this merely to shew how extensive were the effects of misrepresentation, when a mind so sagacious was not exempt from delusion.

succeeded

succeeded by Clery, who had been retained to attend on the dauphin; and he, after incurring an imminent risk of his life^p, remained with the king till

^p The circumstance is thus related by Clery: " One evening about six o'clock, it was the 5th of October, after having seen the queen to her apartment, I was returning to the king's with two municipal officers, when the sentinel at the great guard-house door taking me by the arm, and calling me by my name, asked me how I did, and said with an air of mystery, that he wished very much to speak to me. ' Sir,' cried I, ' speak out; I am not allowed to whisper with any body.'—' I was assured,' replied the sentinel, ' that the king had lately been thrown into a dungeon, and you with him.'—' You see it is not so,' said I, and left him. There was one officer walking before and another behind me: the former stooped and heard us. Next morning two commissioners waited for me at the door of the queen's apartment: they conducted me to the council-chamber, where I was examined by the municipal officers then assembled. I reported the conversation exactly as it had passed, which was confirmed by the officer who had heard it: the other alleged that the sentinel had given me a paper; that he had heard the rumpling of it, and that it was a letter for the king. I denied the fact; desiring they would search me, and take all means of satisfying themselves. A minute of the sitting of the council was drawn up; I was confronted with the sentinel, who was sentenced to be confined for four-and-twenty hours. I supposed this affair was at an end, when on the 26th of October, while the royal family were at dinner, a municipal officer walked in, followed by six soldiers with drawn sabres, together with a clerk of the rolls and a tipstaff, both in their official dress. I was terrified lest they should be come for the king. The royal family all rose, and the king asked what they wanted with him; but the officer, without replying, called me into another room: the soldiers followed us, and the clerk having read a warrant to arrest me, I was seized in order to be taken before the tribunal. I begged permission to inform the king of it, and was answered that I was no longer at liberty to speak to him. ' But you may take a shirt,' added the officer, ' it won't be a long business.' I thought I understood him, and took only my hat. I passed by the king and the royal family, who were standing, and in consternation at the manner in which I was taken away. The populace assembled in the Temple court, heaped abuse upon me, calling out for my head. They were told by one of the national guards that it was necessary to save my life, in order to discover secrets which I alone knew. The same vociferations however continued all the way. The moment we arrived at the Palais de Justice, I was confined alone; there I remained six hours, endeavouring in vain to find out what could be the motives for my being arrested. All I could bring to my mind was, that on the morning of the 10th of August, during the attack on the Thuilleries, some persons who were there and wished to make their way out, begged me to hide several valuable articles and papers that might have betrayed them, in a chest of drawers that belonged to me: I suspected that these papers had been seized, and would now, perhaps, cost me my life. At eight o'clock I appeared before

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till his last hour. The king had been permitted to read the journals; but when his trial began to be agitated in the convention they were discontinued, lest he should be prepared to repel the accusations levelled against him¹. This prohibition, however, had its exceptions when those prints furnished opportunities of new insults. If they contained abusive expressions against the king or queen, atrocious threats, or infamous calumnies, some municipal officer or other was sure, with studied malice, to place them on the chimney-piece, or on the chest of drawers in his majesty's chamber, that they might fall into his hands. He once read in one of those papers, the petition of an engineer for the head of the tyrant Louis XVI. that he might load his piece with it, and shoot it at the enemy. Another journal, speaking of madame Elizabeth, and endeavouring to destroy the admiration she had excited in the public, by the noble manner in which she had devoted herself to the king and queen, asserted that virtuous princess to have had a child by a bishop, adding that this young wolf ought to be smothered, with the two others in the tower, meaning the dauphin and madame royale. These articles affected the king only for the sake of

and jour-
nals.

" the judges, who were unknown to me. This was a revolutionary
 " tribunal, erected on the 17th of August, in order to select, among
 " those who had escaped the fury of the populace, such as were doomed
 " to die. How was I amazed when I saw among the prisoners the
 " very young man who was suspected of having given me a letter three
 " weeks before; and when I found my accuser to be the municipal
 " officer who had already impeached me before a council at the
 " Temple! I was examined; witnesses were produced, and the mu-
 " nicipal officer repeated his accusation. I told him he was unworthy
 " of being a magistrate of the people; that as he had heard the
 " rumpling of the paper, and thought I had received a letter, he
 " should immediately have had me searched, instead of staying eighteen
 " hours before he lodged any information whatever. The arguments
 " being concluded, the jury consulted together, and on their verdict we
 " were acquitted. The president charged four municipal officers who
 " were present at my acquittal to conduct me back to the Temple. It
 " was twelve o'clock at night, and we arrived just as the king was
 " gone to bed, to whom I was permitted to make my return known.
 " The royal family had been much concerned at my fate, not doubting
 " but that I had already been condemned."

¹ Eloge, p. 225.

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the people. "How very unfortunate are the French," said he, "to be imposed on in this manner." If Clery saw these journals first, he took care to remove them out of his majesty's way; but they were frequently carried when he was employed elsewhere, so that very few of the articles written for the purpose of abusing the royal family, whether to excite the populace to regicide, or to prepare the minds of the people to suffer its being perpetrated, but what were read by the king. They only who remember the insolent writings that were published at that time can have an idea of this kind of unprecedented torture'.

Additional
restraints.

Prevented
walking.

As the king's trial approached, the *commune* and the people redoubled their ferocity, and continued augmenting it to the hour of his death. Two objects principally occupied their attention, escape and suicide. The municipal committee made frequent reports to the council of the *commune*, that there was a plan for delivering the prisoners from the Temple. They adduced in support of this assertion the most unimportant circumstances; such as a man's playing on a flute at midnight; the songs sung in the streets, and the expressions of the common criers, which were alleged to have mysterious meanings. The committee afterwards represented, that when the royal family walked in the garden, or appeared on the balcony, a number of persons came to the windows of the adjacent houses and made signals, which seemed to be understood by the prisoners. To prevent this supposed intercourse several expedients were proposed; one recommended that the royal family should not be suffered to walk in the garden till it was dark; another that the walls of the Temple should be raised to such a height that the prisoners could not be seen from without. Both these suggestions were over-ruled by the adoption of a shorter and more cruel mode, that of preventing the royal family from walking out, or even from approaching

' Clery's Journal, p. 115.

the

the windows'. Before their separation, suspicion invented and enforced the most cruel restraints. The family were forbid to hold any conversation respecting their situation: they could not make a sign, an involuntary motion of the eye, but it was interpreted to their prejudice: suspicions were entertained that a silent mode of communication was established between the king and his wife and sister. They were forbid to talk any language but French, and restricted to the use of such expressions as their gaolers considered incapable of conveying an enigmatical meaning. Even the manner of looking at those who approached was regulated, and restraint laid on the features and muscles'. The following instances, shewing the excess to which these precautions and restraints were carried, are given by Clery'. One day after dinner, when he had just written an account of expences in the council-chamber, and locked it up in a desk of which they had given him the key; his back was scarcely turned, when Marinot, a municipal officer, said to his colleagues, though he was not on duty, that they ought to open the desk and examine its contents, to ascertain whether or not he had a correspondence with the enemies of the people. "I know him well," added the officer, "and am sure he receives letters for the king." Then accusing his colleagues of remissness, he abused them violently, threatened to impeach them all before the council of the *commune* as accomplices, and went out to put his threat in execution. A minute was immediately drawn up of all the papers in the desk, and sent to the *commune*, where Marinot had already laid his information. Another day the same officer seeing a draft-board, which, with the permission of his colleagues, Clery had sent to be mended, brought back, he pretended it might contain a correspondence, had it entirely taken to pieces, and when he found nothing, made the workmen paste it together before

Rigidly
watched.

* Moore's Journal, vol. II, p. 275.

* Eloge, p. 216.

VOL. I.

* Journal, p. 217.

[1]

him.

him. There were others of the municipal officers who had the most extravagant whims. One ordered some macaroons to be broken to see if there was no letter concealed in them: another on the same pretence, had some peaches cut before him, and the stones cracked: a third compelled Clery one day to drink the essence of soap prepared for shaving the king, affecting to apprehend it was poison. After dinner and supper, madame Elizabeth used to give Clery a gold-bladed knife to clean, which the municipal officer would often snatch out of his hand to examine if he had not slipt some paper into the sheath. Madame Elizabeth having commanded Clery to send a book of devotion to the duches de Sérent, the municipal officers cut off the margins for fear any thing should have been written upon them with a secret ink. One of them one day forbade Clery going up to the queen to dress her hair: her majesty was to come down to the king's apartments, and to bring her powder and combs herself. Another would follow her into madame Elizabeth's chamber to see her change her clothes, which she usually did at noon: Clery represented to him the indecency of such behaviour, but he persisted, and her majesty was obliged to give up dressing and leave the room. When the linen was brought from the wash, the officers made Clery unfold it, article by article, and examined it always by day-light. The washer-woman's book, and every paper used for packing, were held to the fire, to ascertain whether there were not any secret writing upon them. The linen, after having been worn by the king, queen, prince, and princesses, was in like manner examined before it was given out.

Fears of
suicide.

The fear of suicide was carried to an extent equally tyrannical; no allowance was made for the king's religious sentiments, which his enemies could not appreciate. Orders were given that the king's razors, the knives and scissars of the family, and all other instruments, *contondant, tranchant, & piquant*, should

should be removed. This order was executed with the most rigid exactness, and extended even to the irons with which they turned their hair. The king was affected with this insult, and indignantly asked the commissioners, "Do you think me such a coward 'as to kill myself?'" The queen derided the minuteness of these orders, or expressed her indignation by sarcasms. When they read the words of the order, *contondant, tranchant, & piquant*, she said, "They 'had better have taken away our needles also!'" At another time, happening to raise the hand in which she held her knife at dinner towards her breast, the commissioner seemed alarmed, as if she intended to destroy herself; which the queen observing said, "No, sir; I reserve that honour to the 'French nation'!"

In proportion as these refinements of barbarity were sanctioned by that nation to whose virtues the care of the monarch had been so ostentatiously confided, his gaolers increased their brutal ferocity. His degradations had afforded gratification and triumph to their little minds; and now that he was delivered over entirely to the care of the Jacobins, he experienced all the bitterness of their rancour and malevolence*. At an early period of their confinement, one of the national guard had boasted of the pleasure he derived from the insults endured by the royal family; he expressed his joy at seeing them bow to the wicket as they came out; and added, "When I see Elizabeth coming, I always take care

Wanton
Indignities,

* Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 498. It was not the least ridiculous act of these tormentors of Louis XVI. that while they seemed so jealous of his meditating self-murder, they allowed him razors to shave himself, and knives at dinner. Had the plan of suicide really occupied his mind a moment was time sufficient for its execution. I rather consider their whole conduct, in this particular as part of the conspiracy against his ease and his character, which accompanied the project of his destruction.

† I say delivered up to the Jacobins; for such were the majority of the commune of Paris, such the greater part of the commissioners in the Temple, and such Santerre, who regulated the guard. The exclusion of every one else from the knowledge of the king's treatment and situation, appears by Roland's complaint in his report to the convention, made the 29th October 1792. See Debates.

“ to salute her with my pipe. I draw my mouth
 “ full of smoke on purpose to have the pleasure of
 “ puffing it in her face.” While the royal family
 were yet permitted to walk in the garden, that slender
 enjoyment was diminished by the insolence of those
 who attended them. One instance is given, where
 the hour of retirement was announced to the king by
 this brutal exclamation, “ *Allons, M. Vêto, il faut*
 “ *monter*; Come, M. Vêto, up with you.” Nor
 were his persecutors content with these efforts; they
 added to his misery, sometimes by the brutality of
 their manners; sometimes by apostrophising him and
 the queen by those gross epithets which are common
 only in the mouths of the lowest of the vulgar; and
 sometimes by an insolent and indescribable disregard
 of decorum in his presence^b.

One of the soldiers wrote one day on the king's
 chamber door, and that too on the inside: “ The
 “ guillotine is permanent, and ready for the tyrant
 “ Louis XVI.” The king read the words which
 Clery made an attempt to rub out, but his majesty
 prevented him. While the family were walking, the
 engineers assembled to dance and sing; their songs
 were always revolutionary, sometimes also obscene.
 The walls were frequently covered with the most in-
 decent scrawls, in large letters, that they might not
 escape notice. Among others were: “ Madame Vêto
 “ shall swing—We shall find a way of bringing down
 “ the great hog's fat—Down with the red ribbon—
 “ The little wolves must be strangled.” Under a gal-
 lows, with a figure hanging were these words:
 “ Louis taking an air bath.” And under a guillotine:
 “ Louis spitting in the bag^c,” or other similar ribaldry.
 Still with all the courage they affected, and all
 the exertions they used, the republicans felt the hor-
 rors of guilt. They were apprehensive that their

The royal
 family fall
 ill.

^a Derniers Regicides.

^b Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 497.

^c Eloge, p. 237.

^c *Craquant dans le sac*—literally, *spitting in the sack*; this is a vulgar
 phrase alluding to the position of a person in the guillotine, looking
 upon a little bag placed at the end to receive the head. Clery's Journal,
 p. 59.

treacheries might yet be made to recoil on themselves, and exhibited, in consequence, all the fury of fear, and all the precipitation of jealousy. The king's confinement in a damp room, and his total privation of exercise, so repugnant to his former habits of life, and so inimical to his constitution, brought on a feverish complaint, attended with symptoms of ague; his head swelled, and he felt a difficulty of breathing, and an oppression at his stomach, which obliged him to keep his bed. His whole family were similarly affected, and the symptoms by degrees grew alarming. The *commune*, with their usual barbarity, neglected his application for medical assistance, and made such a parade of affected delay before they supplied him with the most ordinary drugs^d, that at length, a report was circulated that the king was dead. The concern manifested on this occasion by many inhabitants of Paris alarmed the *commune*, and induced them instantly to comply with his request, by sending a physician, named le Monnier^e.

To counteract, or rather to stifle every sentiment of compassion and kindness, his enemies employed unusual efforts to inflame the minds of the people. The tribunes of the convention and the Jacobins rang with declamations against him and the queen; the journals were replete with every slander which unbridled mendacity and unbounded malevolence could suggest; hand-bills were profusely placarded and distributed, in which all the miseries felt by the nation, not excepting the scarcity of bread, were attributed to the imprisoned family; and the street orators exhausted themselves in clamorous invectives against them, and against those deputies who maintained the inviolability guaranteed by the constitution^f.

Arts used
to inflame
the people.

^d On another occasion, when the king was afflicted with a violent defluxion on his teeth, attended with such excruciating pain, that he applied to the *commune* for the aid of a dentist; one of the members said, "Let him leave off drinking iced liquors, and he will have no more defluxions on his teeth:" the rest applauded this rustic sally, and passed to the order of the day. *Eloge*, p. 274.

^e Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 528. *Eloge*, p. 237.

^f Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 417. 438. 444. 495, &c. &c.

From

From the moment the king's trial was agitated in the convention, he was considered as condemned. This was strongly instanced in the remarks excited by his demand of forty classic authors. The debate which this request occasioned in the council-general of the *commune* is so characteristic of the times, that I translate the account verbatim from a popular journal: "Louis had demanded of the commissioners forty classic authors, among which were *Cæsar's Commentaries, Cornelius Nepos, Florus, Justin, Horace, Ovid's Metamorphoses, Quintus Curcius, Sallust, Tacitus, Titus Livius, Virgil, Velleius Paterculus, &c.* This demand occasioned violent debates in the council-general of the *commune*. Some declared that *the life of Louis would not be long enough for the reading of so many books*; others, that he could not understand them. Some considered Ovid's *Metamorphoses* too licentious! Many were of opinion that they ought to send him the *Revolutions of England and America, the Life of Cromwell, and of Charles IX. and the History of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.* One member discerned a plan of counter-revolution in *Velleius Paterculus.* At last, the council-general terminated their debate by granting the request!"

Proceed-
ings in the
conven-
tion.

The party in the legislature who were labouring to procure the condemnation of Louis, proceeded, not as if a trial or ascertainment of his guilt was necessary, but as if the only business of the convention was to defeat the plea of inviolability, and to pronounce the sentence of death. The tergiversations and duplicity of those who had dethroned and imprisoned the king, and now pretended to maintain that he was inviolable, gave to the other party a decided advantage; and the infamy of their conduct prevented the effect of their arguments. The galleries were so regularly trained, and so much swayed

‡ *Mercur* François, No. du Decembre 1792, p. 56. It is to be observed that the *Mercur* was no longer conducted by Mallet-du Pan, but was quite a republican publication,

by the Mountain, that the speaker was secure of a favourable reception if he began, however *mal-à-propos*, with some invective against the king and queen. Robespierre headed this sanguinary faction, and exerted himself throughout the whole proceeding with uncommon zeal, and no inconsiderable ability, to bring the convention to a state of mind favourable to his views. He made no scruple of declaring that "Louis ought to have had sentence pronounced on him as a tyrant, condemned by the insurrection of the people; instead of which, proceedings were instituted against him as in the case of an accused citizen, whose criminality was doubtful. The revolution ought to have been cemented by his death; instead of which, the revolution itself was rendered a subject of litigation^h." These barbarous sentiments were supported in the convention by Legendre, Tallien, Jean Bon St. André, and all the horde of Jacobins seated on the Mountain; and without by Marat, Hebert, Prud'homme, and a numerous rabble of journalists and composers of hand-bills, assisted by a noisy and sanguinary mob. They were opposed by Petion, Manuel, Kersaint, and several of the Gironde faction in the convention, and by the papers and journals influenced by the ministry without; but in a manner so weak as rather to injure than support the cause. They dared not assert what would in reality have been their tower of strength, the innocence of the monarch; but entered into sophistical discussions of his inviolability. In fact, these miserable contrivers of treachery were so bewildered in the mazes of their own duplicity, that they appeared to be destitute of their wonted ability; and left the ruffian Marat the glory of having moved that the king should not be responsible for any act committed by him previous to his acceptance of the constitutionⁱ.

Valazé

^h Robespierre à ses Commettans, vol. i. p. 423.

ⁱ Debates. Histories. Eloge, p. 253. Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 494. 508. See also for a specimen of the brutal violence of the Jacobin

6th Nov.
and 12th
Dec.
Reports of
Valazé and
Mailhe.

Valazé and Mailhe, as organs of two committees to whom the questions had been referred, presented to the convention reports on the grounds of accusation against the king, and on the legality and mode of trying him. The grounds of accusation were established on facts grossly perverted, or lightly presumed, on papers at best surreptitiously obtained, or more probably forged, but obviously unconnected with any train of events, isolated, and divested of concomitant and explanatory circumstances. The legality of trying the king was inferred from an obscure argument, in which neither natural, civil, nor constitutional law was consulted: the mode of trying him was no less absurd and unreasonable than the other parts of the report. The convention created themselves judges of a person whom they themselves accused. They did more; they invented a new code of laws adapted to the moment, to form the ground-work of their proceedings; they established rules of evidence repugnant to reason, and unknown in the annals of jurisprudence; and many of those self-constituted judges had, before the trial, published their opinions in a style^a, which demonstrated a rooted conviction, or a rancorous determination which defied proof, and precluded the possibility of exculpation^b.

The king
ordered to
attend the
conven-
tion.

Before this tribunal it was decreed that Louis should appear; and to add to the injustice, he had not the slightest intimation that he was to be called upon to answer a number of desultory questions, prepared with the most studied art, applying to the transactions of many years, and affecting him in his private no less than his public capacity. The hope of those who had thus iniquitously arranged the mode of proceeding undoubtedly was, that the king's natural diffidence and reserve in expressing himself, increased by the suddenness and importance

cobin deputies and petitioners. "The Example of France a Warning to Britain," p. 27.

^a Even the republican Pagès cries out against this monstrous perversion of reason and justice. See vol. ii. p. 69.

^b See the reports of Valazé and Mailhe from their respective committees.

of the occasion, would betray him into weakness, and by disconcerting, render him more liable to inconsistency.—Base hope, which met with a merited disappointment.

On the day fixed for the king's appearance in the convention, which was one of the greatest epochs of his eventful life, he conducted himself in a manner so highly honourable to his character in every point of view, that the detail is an indispensable duty. He rose and passed his first hours as usual. At eight o'clock he was surprised by the beat of drums; on which the following dialogue passed between him and one of the commissioners: "What is the meaning of that drum?"—"I don't know."—"I do not generally hear them at this hour."—"I know nothing of the matter."—"But is it not the *generale* that beats?"—"I do not know."—"I think I hear the trampling of horses in the court."—"I know nothing of the matter."—This affected ignorance increased the king's anxiety; he had long expected to be murdered, and now thought the day was come; yet he did not lose his wonted courage and serenity. At nine he went, as usual, into the eating-room to breakfast with his family, but, according to his custom, ate nothing. His family, surprised as well as himself at the new occurrences, maintained an expressive silence; and appeared to dread events terrible in proportion to the mystery in which they were enveloped. After breakfast, the king retired with his son; but instead of giving him a lesson in geography, sought to divert himself by his sportive and innocent conversation; and therefore sat down to play with him at the game of Siam.

11th Dec:
Behaviour
of the king.

Alarm of
the royal
family.

At length the commissioner, with a pedantic and mysterious air, informed the king that he was to receive a visit from the new mayor: "So much the better," answered the monarch. "But I must inform you," resumed the commissioner, "that he cannot speak to you in presence of your son."

Mysteri-
ousness of
the com-
missioner.

The king immediately turned to the child, and pressing him to his bosom, desired him to go and embrace his mother in his name. Bereft of his only consolation, the king sat down, and fell into a deep reverie; his attention was so totally absorbed by his own reflexions, that the commissioner passed several times before him unperceived; and at length placed himself behind his chair. He was in this situation when the king returned to himself, and looking suddenly round saw the commissioner close behind. The impression that he should be murdered was so strong on his mind, that he exclaimed with great quickness, "What do you want, sir?"—"Nothing," answered the commissioner; "but fearing you were ill, I approached to know what ailed you." The king inquired if he knew the mayor's business with him; but received the usual answer, "I don't know." He asked some questions respecting the person and character of the mayor; and was informed, that he was of a good character, and middle age, thin, and rather tall.

Arrival of
the mayor

At length, after two hours, the mayor, who was a physician, named Chambon, arrived. He was attended by his secretary, who read from a paper he held in his hand, these words. "Louis Capet shall be conducted to the bar of the national convention, on Tuesday the 11th, to answer such questions as shall be put to him by the president only." As soon as these words were pronounced the mayor raised his voice, and summoned the king to follow him. The king obeyed. In crossing the court nothing but strange objects presented themselves to his eyes. The uniform of many of the troops who attended to escort him was intirely new in its fashion; and no countenance displayed the slightest mark of commiseration. Oppressed with mournful reflections, he cast up his eyes to the window of the apartment which contained his afflicted family; and tenderness drew from him those
tears

tears which cruelty and insolence could never extort.

His unhappy relatives were overwhelmed with dismay and terror. The commissioner entered their apartment when the king was departed, and told them he had received a visit from the mayor. "We know that," answered the queen, "from my son; but now—where have they carried the king now?"—"To the convention," replied the commissioner. "You would have saved us much uneasiness," said the princess Elizabeth, "if you had told us so before."—A melancholy delineation of the state of their minds, when such information could afford relief; and a severe reflection on the wanton brutality of the commissioner, who had so long withheld it.

State of the royal family.

The king proceeded in Chambon's coach. By order of the council of the *commune*, extraordinary measures were taken to secure a passage free from interruption. The procession began with three field pieces, attended by two ammunition waggons, and escorted by a corps of fusileers; forty-eight horse, perfectly skilful in manœuvring, formed the avant guard. Six hundred foot, armed with firelocks, each of them provided with sixteen rounds of cartridges, and perfectly skilful in manœuvring, formed a line three deep on each side of the coach. The cavalry from the *Ecole Militaire* formed the rear guard, and the procession was closed by three field pieces, attended by one ammunition waggon, and escorted, like those in the van, by a corps of fusileers. Nor were these the only precautions taken: the executive council, and the council general of the *commune* were in a state of permanent activity. Troops were posted in various parts of the capital; patrols paraded the streets, and all the national guards in the department were put in a state of requisition. During their progress, the whole party maintained an inviolable silence.

Precautions of the commune.

Proceed-
ings in the
conven-
tion.

Meanwhile the convention was engaged in debates on the manner in which the king should be received, and in arranging and amending the act of accusation and the interrogatories. So little decorum was displayed in the conduct of this momentous business, that none of the members seemed to agree in any thing but a determination to sacrifice the prisoner. The extent of the accusation was not yet decided, the nature of the proofs was not yet investigated, the king had undergone no examinations; yet several of these miscreants uttered sarcasms and philippics which manifested an unalterable determination to shed his blood^c. It had been decided by the leading members who pressed for his trial, that he should no more return to the Temple; but that his condemnation and execution should take place within four and twenty hours.

The king's
arrival an-
nounced.

At one o'clock Santerre appeared in the convention, and said, "Louis Capet is arrived, and "waits the orders of the assembly."

His ap-
pearance in
the con-
vention;

And now a silence, expressive of agitation and alarm, prevailed. Even those tumultuous galleries who disdained order, and had taken their seats at six o'clock in the morning for the express purpose of serving their employers by clamour, even they were silent. Every eye was fixed on the door at which the king was expected to make his appearance. He entered. Every countenance betrayed emotion. The king, though obedient to circumstances, and incapable of a mad resistance to force wholly disproportionate, seemed not to have forgot the claims of his high birth and exalted character. He appeared, not only without perturbation, but with majestic dignity. He cast his eye around the hall with a look equally remote from fear and from contempt of the tribunal before which he was thus illegally cited. On him all eyes were fixed; every spectator

^c See Debates. Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 508.

read in his look the refutation of some calumny, and found some motive for condemning the proceeding against him. His features, clouded by misfortune, had lost none of their majesty; even the disorder of his hair, the length and thickness of his beard, spread over his countenance an appearance inexpressibly venerable, and which excited at once respect and compassion. He seated himself in the arm-chair which had been provided for the purpose.

The silence was broken by Barrere, the president, who informed the king why he was brought before them. The king made no reply. Mailhe then read to him the act of accusation, to which the king listened attentively, but testified neither surprise nor indignation. Without presenting to him a copy of this long desultory composition even to refresh his memory by a cursory perusal, or assist his judgment by a hasty comparison of its various parts with the pretended facts on which it was founded; without allowing a moment for preparation or reflexion, Barrere pressed the trial forward. The king was interrogated on the various charges article by article. The interrogatory, notwithstanding its apparent rudeness and want of method, was a work of the most subtle malice. The questions sometimes assumed an extraordinary latitude, sometimes were distinguished by a laborious minuteness: they sometimes imputed to the king the most flagrant tyranny; and at others the most refined and cautious hypocrisy. The form which had been prepared appearing occasionally deficient, the committee framed new questions, put them in writing, and delivered them to the president. The king's energy and presence of mind were fully adequate to this arduous occasion, and shewed him equally prepared to maintain his own innocence, and vindicate the dignity of his character. He answered with the utmost frankness, precision, and promptitude. He never lost his composure, except when the president accused him of

his interrogatory;

and replies.

having

having distributed money to the poor labourers in the fauxbourg St. Antoine, for the purpose of acquiring popularity and enslaving the nation. The perversion of his very benevolence into a crime shocked the monarch, and deprived him of utterance. He shed a few tears. A consciousness of his integrity, however, soon restored his calmness; and his reply was a triumphant refutation. "I knew no pleasure equal to the power of relieving those who were in want: *there was nothing in that which indicated a plot.*" To the interrogatory accusing him of having caused blood to be shed on the tenth of August, he answered with much animation and a marked emphasis, "*No, sir! IT WAS NOT I.*" When the interrogatory was ended, the president asked, "Louis, have you any thing more to add?" "I demand," said the king, "a copy of the act of accusation, and the communication of the papers on which it is founded; and that I may have counsel to manage my defence."

Written documents

Valazé then took his place near the king, with the pretended original papers on which the act of accusation was founded; and reading the title put on each by the committee, presented them, one by one, to the king, and asked if he avowed it. From an inspection so momentary of so many papers, some pretended to be written or noted by himself, some in the hand-writing of other persons, and some printed, it might be expected that some confusion or misapprehension would have ensued. The king, however, answered without hesitation, and disavowed the greater part of the papers. The examination being ended, the president informed the king that he had leave to retire.

Effect of his behaviour.

The king's appearance in the convention, the dignified resignation of his manner, the admirable promptitude and candour of his answers, made such an evident impression on some of the audience in the galleries, that a determined enemy of royalty, who had

had his eye upon them, declared that he was afraid of hearing the cry of *Vive le Roi!* issue from the tribunes; and added, that if the king had remained ten minutes longer in their sight, he was convinced it would have happened^d. When he uttered the interesting expression of his happiness in relieving the people, which is above recorded, one of the women in the gallery, who, like many others, had come there to execrate the monarch, was so affected that she sobbed out, in a doleful voice, "Ah! my God! how he makes me cry^e!"

It was six o'clock in the evening when the king retired from the convention into the *chambre des conferences*. The fatigue of his examination, the agitation of his mind, and the length of his fast, then overcame him. "Give me a bit of bread," said the fainting monarch, "for I have eat nothing all day^f." The comparison between his condition at that moment, and at former periods, was so affecting,

Retires from the convention.

"That had not God; for some strong purpose, steel'd
 "The hearts of men, they must perforce have melted,
 "And Barbarism itself have pitied him."

The king was carried back to the Temple in the same coach; and with the same attendants who had accompanied him to the assembly. The crowd exclaimed, "*Vive la Republique!*" and some few "*à la guillotine!*" but on the whole they were much more tranquil than accorded with the wishes of those who had been so active in inflaming them. In the way, the anxiety natural to his situation induced the king to ask Chaumette if he thought counsel would be allowed him? The brutal *procureur-syndic* answered, "That it was his duty to conduct him to

Returns to the Temple

^d Verbatim from Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 529.

^e Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 225. Eloge, p. 259.

^f Eloge, p. 265. Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 227.

“ and from the assembly, and not to answer questions.” Chambon behaved with much more humanity; he promised the king early information, and encouraged him to hope that his request would not be refused. Louis was now entirely separated from his family, nor could his or their remonstrances procure even the slight consolation of seeing his son².

Debate on
his demand
of counsel.

After the king's departure, a tumultuous debate took place in the convention on the demands made by him respecting his defence. The Mountain, at first, insisted that he should have no counsel; they afterwards wanted to limit him to one; but at length it was carried that advocates should be allowed, without limiting the number, and that four members of the convention should carry the information. To deter and intimidate men from undertaking this unpopular cause, it was proposed by the *commune* to the convention, that they should be stripped, scrupulously searched, and compelled to take an oath never to discover any thing which came to their knowledge in the Temple. This decree was supported with all the influence of Robespierre and his faction; but at length rejected³.

23th.

Target re-
fuses.

The king being informed that the convention allowed him counsel, named Tronchet and Target. Tronchet accepted the office with pleasure; but Target, who had been a member of the constituent assembly, refused the dangerous task on pretence that he was incapacitated by age. M. Lamoignon de Malesherbes, who was near fourscore, was not deterred either by decrepitude or danger; he offered his services, which were gratefully accepted, and, together with Tronchet, prepared to execute his arduous undertaking. The honour of this voluntary

Male-
sherbes and
others offer
to plead
his cause.

² The particulars relative to the transactions of the 21th of December, are taken from Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 303, et seq. Eloge, p. 246, et seq. Histoire du Procès de Louis XVI. Debates. Historiens.

³ Debates. Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 316. Eloge, p. 268.

offering

offering was not confined to Malesherbes; several other persons, both in Paris and in the provinces, tendered their assistance¹.

Several French gentlemen whom the progress of the revolution had compelled to emigrate, displayed a noble zeal on this occasion. M. Lally Tollendal applied for a passport that he might in person defend Louis at the bar of the convention. M. M. Cazalés and Mounier made similar offers. M. de Narbonne, who had been minister at war at the commencement of hostilities, also demanded permission to plead the cause of his sovereign, and offered to be responsible for all the acts committed by the king during his administration; but this request being refused, he drew up a declaration in vindication of the king, which he forwarded to Malesherbes. M. Bertrand de Moleville also transmitted sundry facts, and the papers in proof of them, to Garat, the minister of justice, requiring that they might be delivered to the king. Garat made a pitiful pretence that he had no communication with the prisoner, and sent them to the president of the convention; who finding that several members were criminated by these papers, entirely suppressed them. M. Bertrand wrote to the convention expressing his indignation; but that nefarious body passed to the order of the day, on pretence that Bertrand being an emigrant, was dead in law, and that no attention was due to a dead man. M. Bertrand also exerted himself to prevent the active exertions of Danton*, and printed at his own expence, the defence of Louis XVI. drawn by Mounier; and caused it to be profusely distributed in France. The Chevalier de Graves transmitted a justificatory declaration; M. de Bouillé made a deposition before Sir James Saunderson, the lord mayor of London, respecting the king's flight, which however arrived

Laudable
exertions
of sundry
emigrants.

¹ Histories. Debates. Moore's Journal, p. 319. 324.

* See DANTON,

14th Dec.
Prepares
his de-
fence.

too late to be of service¹; and Necker published an argument in defence of the king^m.

When Malesherbes and Tronchet were admitted to the king, they were surprised to find that none of the papers referring to the act of accusation had yet been delivered. The convention had, with much difficulty, been induced to afford him time till the twenty-sixth of December to prepare his defence; and these precious moments were in danger of being lost through perverseness and barbarous delay. The papers being at length delivered, his counsel occupied themselves in preparing his defence; but their great age precluding the possibility of making such exertions as the importance of the case and shortness of the time required, they procured a younger man, M. de Seze, to join them; and by using unremitting diligence, they prepared that well-known defence which de Seze afterwards read in the conventionⁿ. When de Seze had composed the defence, he read it over to the king, who approved it in general, but directed the omission of every expression relating to his virtues, or which seemed to appeal to the commiseration of the public.

¹ See Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 338, et seq. Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 204, et seq.

^m See NECKER. These exertions of the emigrants are blamed by Dumouriez; Bertrand's, in particular, are calumniated and misrepresented; he is stated to have sent papers to the *convention*, which he sent to the minister of justice, and to have precipitated the king's death. The disapprobation of Dumouriez must be more acceptable to M. Bertrand than any praises he can bestow; and the exertions of Bertrand were less equivocal and more honourable than those of that mock royalist, who, while several thousand of his soldiers were in Paris, walked about the streets endeavouring to penetrate into the wifries of the shopkeepers, and armed with pistols to guard himself against the shriveled incendiary Marat, and the ferocious *ex-mousquetaire*, Dubois de Crancé. See Memoires du General Dumouriez, années 1793. Partie Premier, p. 48 and 57.

ⁿ It would occupy too much room to descant on the absurdity and injustice of the various charges contained in the act of accusation, and to refute them. The reader is therefore referred to the numerous publications in defence of the king; to the authorities alluded to in the preceding notes; to Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. p. 360; and to the extracts from Bertrand's Memoirs, App. No. II. and III.

The next, being Christmas-day, he spent intirely by himself, occupied in the duties of religion, and in composing that celebrated will, which was published after his death, and reflects so much honour on his principles and character°. The king had been secluded from his wife and sister. The convention had, with great difficulty, been prevailed on to decree that he might see his son and daughter; but the important occupation in which he was incessantly engaged, prevented his frequent indulgence in this gratification. His counsel were not exempt from suspicion and insult. Malesherbes constantly supplied him with newspapers, at which one of the commissioners on duty expressed some surprise, considering to what a degree the people were prejudiced against him, by means of these publications. Malesherbes replied, that the king was of a strong character, and bore his misfortunes with magnanimity. The commissioner insinuated that, from the freedom of his ingress, the advocate might, if he were not an honest man, furnish the king with poison. "If I should," answered Malesherbes, "the king is too sincere a Christian to make use of it". The king felt the firmest persuasion that the manifestation of his innocence would not procure his acquittal, he therefore prepared for the event with magnanimity and resolution.

25th.
Situation
of the
king.

The convention and the commune, as if anxious to become the voluntary proclaimers of their own ignominy, affected to consider the king's condemnation as certain before they had heard his defence. Chaumette said in the commune, that as the king could be considered in no other light than as a condemned criminal soon to be executed, it would be disgraceful for the magistrates of the people to

Conduct
of the con-
vention
and com-
mune.
25th.

° Eloge, p. 277.

p Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 387. It is to be observed, that Malesherbes always called his august client *the king*, though royalty was abolished.

accompany

accompany him to the convention, and that he ought to be conducted by the military only. This was over-ruled only by a small majority. Santerre, as if to ensure an excuse for that treachery which would have procured the murder of the king, even if the convention, contrary to all expectation, had acquitted him, said at the bar, that he believed the king might be conducted in safety to and from the hall, provided he returned by day-light; but if he was detained till dark, he would not answer what might be the consequence, the people were so enraged against him⁹.

26th.
Mode of
filling the
galleries.

Those who espoused the cause of the king in the convention, had obtained a decree, that no person should be admitted to the galleries till a certain hour in the morning. In contempt of this regulation, the mob had taken possession the preceding evening; and when Manuel moved that the decree should be enforced, he was hooted, and the convention obliged to pass to the order of the day. Besides those in the galleries, a crowd beset the passages, and groupes were formed in different parts of the streets, who surrounded, insulted, and threatened those deputies who were supposed to favor the king¹.

The king
goes to the
conven-
tion.

When the officers of the municipality arrived at the Temple, the king, who was with his counsel, asked how those gentlemen were to go to the convention. He was answered, "on horse-back, or on foot, or just as they please, *for it is of very little consequence.*" The king left the Temple a little before nine, in the mayor's coach, and, notwithstanding the importance of the occasion, conversed with cheerfulness, and without dismay. The conversation turned on the Latin historians, which gave him occasion to descant on the preference due to Tacitus over Titus Livius. In the *chambre des*

⁹ Moore's Journal, vol. ii, p. 557, 560.

¹ Ibid.

conferences,

conferences, he was again met by his counsel. General Berruyer announced his arrival, and he was introduced in the following order: Berruyer and Santerre walked first, the mayor of Paris and the procureur after them, and last the king, between Malesherbes and Tronchet, and attended by de Seze.

The president said, "Louis, the convention has decreed that you should be finally heard this day." The king answered, "M. de Seze, one of my counsel, will read my defence." De Seze then ascended the tribune, and read the well-known defence of his sovereign, without interruption, except some few pauses, which the length rendered necessary.

The king's
defence by
counsel.

While de Seze was speaking, the king preserved his wonted tranquillity, and when he paused, addressed some words to Malesherbes and Tronchet, with a smiling countenance. De Seze having finished, the king arose, and read from a paper which he held in his hand, the following words, in a calm manner, and with a firm voice; "Citizens, you have heard my defence; I now speak to you, perhaps for the last time, and declare that my conscience reproaches me with nothing, and that my counsel have asserted nothing but the truth. I never was afraid of having my conduct publicly investigated, but I am most sensibly afflicted to find in the act of accusation a charge that I desired to shed the blood of the people, and particularly that I occasioned the misfortunes of the tenth of August. I confess that the numerous instances I have given, on every occasion, of my love for the people, and the manner in which I have conducted myself, appeared to me fully sufficient to prove how little I feared exposing my own safety in order to avoid bloodshed, and to have effectually prevented such an imputation." The president then interrogated him respecting some keys taken from

His speech.

from Clery; and having asked if he had any thing more to add, gave him leave to depart.

His return
to the
Temple.

While in the *chambre des conferences*, the king displayed the most humane solicitude for the health of M. de Seze. Observing him over-heated with the exertion of speaking more than two hours, he expressed great anxiety; and inquired if he could not find means to change his linen. In his return to the Temple, he preserved the same calmness which he had displayed in his journey to the convention. He seemed little affected with the cries of the rabble, which were more frequent than on the eleventh. Chaumette, who never omitted an opportunity of insulting the monarch, was speedily gratified. The king seeing him bow with familiarity to some persons in the street, asked if they were citizens of his section. "No," answered the *procureur*, "but they were members of the general council on the tenth of August, whom I always see with pleasure." The king observing that this brutal Jacobin wore his hat in the carriage, which he had not done before, reprimanded him for the rudeness, by saying, "You had forgot your hat the last time you attended me; but you have been more careful of your health on this occasion." The remaining conversation related to Chambon's wife, whose picture was on the lid of his snuff box.

Proceed-
ings in the
conven-
tion:

The king having retired, a long and violent debate took place on the motion of Manuel to adjourn for three days, and print the defence and send it to the departments. On the other side it was urged that the convention should pronounce judgment without separating. These contradictory motions inflamed the fury of the opposing parties to the highest pitch. The Mountain, supported by the galleries,

* The account of this day is taken from Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 361, et seq. Eloge, p. 282, et seq. Histories. Debates. See also de Seze's speech.

displayed

displayed the most outrageous violence; they insisted on carrying their point, and even insulted the president; but the majority was not to be conquered, and at length it was decreed, that every member should deliver his opinion from the tribune before the day fixed for the *appel nominal*, and that the convention, discontinuing all other business, should occupy itself solely on this trial. The Jacobin club evinced a share of ferocity truly disgusting. They expelled Manuel¹, and in the course of a debate on the proceedings, the president became so outrageous that he exclaimed, "I declare myself in a state of insurrection; I will assassinate the first Rolandist, Brissotin, Feuillant, or Girondist I meet." These were names less used as distinguishing a party, than indicating those who inclined to save the life of the king².

In the
Jacobin
club.

The decree for hearing the opinion of every member threatened to be productive of so much delay, that, in a few days, it was repealed; and those who had composed discourses for the occasion were ordered to lay them on the table that they might be printed, and read by those who were so disposed. The form and arrangement of the questions then took up a whole day, in which the Mountain finally succeeded. The questions were in substance: 1st, Is Louis guilty or not? 2d, Shall the judgment to be pronounced be submitted to the people in primary assemblies? 3d, What punishment has he incurred? These questions were thus subtilly arranged to make the king's condemnation more certain³. It is natural to suppose that the law ought to be established before the result of it is made known; in that case the first question should have been placed last, because

Further
proceed-
ings in the
conven-
tion.

¹ Debates. Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 366.

² Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 371.

³ Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 231.

⁴ Debates. Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 373. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 234. Histories.

till

till the right of appeal and extent of the sentence were ascertained, no judgment ought to have been pronounced. Had the second question been placed last, many who voted against the appeal, not approving it on general grounds, would have favoured it as the only means of saving the king's life. But such was the negligence, and so small the mutual confidence of the party who wished to save the king, that they permitted their adversaries to gain this and several other points in the course of the trial, which decided the event.

15th Jan.
1793.
On the
question,
guilty or
not?

On the first *appel nominal* there was a general affirmative. Dumouriez, speaking of the subsequent votes on this trial, praises three hundred and ten members who voted to save the king, and wishes to erect a column on which their names should be inscribed, like the conquerors of Marathon². Surely the virtue of these men could not deserve commemoration, who after having devoted their king to death by so unjust a verdict, exerted themselves in equivocal efforts to save his life.

On the ap-
peal to the
people.

On the second *appel nominal*, which was put to the vote the same day, the division was: for the affirmative, 283; for the negative, 424;—majority, 147.

16th and
17th.
On the
punish-
ment.

The third *appel nominal* occasioned a discussion which lasted two days, because almost every member accompanied his vote with some reason or reflexion. The number of suffrages was reduced by death, absence, and refusals to vote, to seven hundred and twenty-one. Of these, three hundred and sixty-one would have formed a majority. On casting up the votes, it appeared that 34 had given their opinions for death with various restrictions; 2 for imprisonment in chains; and 319 for confinement or banishment; total, 355. The number of votes for death,

² *Memoires de Dumouriez*, 1793, partie i. p. 50. But it is to be observed, that these three hundred and ten heroes only voted for the respite.

absolutely,

absolutely, was 366; majority 11. But it is to be observed, that had six votes been taken from one side and added to the other, the life of the king would have been saved. The president, Vergniaud, after enumerating the suffrages, said, "The punishment pronounced against Louis is DEATH^a."

This very small majority would not have been sufficient to affect the king's life, had not the Mountain obtained a decree on the day of making the third *appel nominal*, declaring that the majority of a single voice was sufficient, and thereby excluding the king from the benefit of an article in the penal code, which required the consent of two-thirds of the jury to pronounce the sentence of death. To obtain this majority, inconsiderable as it was, no efforts either of intreaty, terror, or violence, had been spared. Grangeneuve declared this in the convention when he gave his vote^b; and Kervelegan afterwards stated, that in going on that day to the hall, he and many other members were several times stopped and surrounded by bodies of the lowest class of the people, who put pistols to their heads, threatened them, and swore they would sacrifice them on their return, if they did not vote for the death of the king^c.

Means
used to ob-
tain a ma-
jority.

When the sentence had been pronounced, the king's counsel were admitted. De Seze, after a short exordium, read the following letter from the king:

The king's
appeal.

"I owe to my honour, to my family, not to subscribe to a sentence which declares me guilty of a crime with which I cannot reproach myself. I

^a Debates. Goudemetz, &c. Judgment and execution of Louis XVI. Histoire du Procès, &c.—Vergniaud, after pronouncing this sentence, passed the whole night in tears, and seemed quite in a state of despair. Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 5. 242. Debates. Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 585.

^b Debates. Goudemetz, &c. Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 10.

^c Trench's Correspondence, Letter vii. p. 106.

“ therefore appeal to the nation at large from the
 “ decision of its representatives; and I do, by these
 “ presents, charge my counsel, on their fidelity, by all
 “ means in their power, to make this appeal known
 “ to the convention; and to require that it be men-
 “ tioned in the minutes of their sittings. Done at
 “ Paris the 16th January 1793.

(Signed) “ LOUIS.”

set aside.

This paper having been read, each of the counsel enforced its contents with a few observations, representing the illegality, violence, and cruelty of the sentence. The convention passed to the order of the day on the king's appeal; and resolved, on the morrow, to take into consideration the question of delaying execution of the sentence.

18th.
 Proceed-
 ings on
 proposal of
 respite.

The next day, after hearing some complaints respecting the formation of the lists, which were at length rectified^d, the order of the day was called for. The discussion of the question of delay was carried on with no less vehemence and asperity than any which had previously occurred, and, after a tumultuous debate, an adjournment till the next day was proposed and reluctantly acceded to. The next day the discussion was closed, and the *appel nominal* being taken on the proposition of delay, it was negatived by a majority of 70. For the delay, 310; against it, 380. The convention then decreed, “ That
 “ the executive council should be summoned, and
 “ a copy of the decree which pronounces sentence
 “ of death against Louis delivered to them. That
 “ the executive council should notify the decree to
 “ Louis in the course of the day, and cause it to be
 “ executed within twenty-four hours after it had
 “ been notified to him: that the mayor and municipal officers should be enjoined to suffer Louis to
 “ communicate freely with his family, and to have

^d On the result of this scrutiny it was asserted, that the majority against the king was seventy seven; but that on the principle above assumed forms a difference of only thirteen or fourteen.

“ with

“with him such priests as he might desire in his last moments.”

Meanwhile the king, though apprised by his counsel of the proceedings against him, and supplied with journals which informed him of the malice and perseverance of his enemies, never betrayed the slightest indications of dismay or terror. His feelings as a man, and his duty as a christian, prompted the efforts which he made to exculpate himself; but he was so far from fondly relying on the triumph of innocence over prejudice and malice, that from the day when the questions were arranged on which his fate depended, he added to his usual prayers the service for persons in agonies¹.

The king's magnanimity.

When Garat, the minister of justice, attended with the decree, he accosted the king in a faltering voice: “Louis,” he said, “the executive council is ordered to notify to you the decree which the convention passed last night.” The secretary, who, together with two members of the executive council, attended Garat, then read the decree. At the words, *conspired against the general safety of the nation*, the king appeared shocked; but he heard the rest, including his sentence, with unalterable calmness. He replied by making some demands which he considered essential to his comfort in his last moments; and which were contained in a paper he delivered to Garat to present to the executive council. Garat informed the king, that the council could not decide on his requests, but that he would submit them to the convention².

soth.
His sentence announced.

Garat

¹ Debates. Histories. Moore's Journal, &c. &c.

² Eloge, p. 297.

³ Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 590. Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. p. 404. In the Eloge, p. 311, and in the Conjuraton de d'Orléans, vol. iii. p. 239. the following account of this interview is given in the words of the incendiary Hebert, author of *Le Père Duchêne*, and Deputy *Procureur de la Commune*, who accompanied Garat on this occasion. “I was desirous to be included among those who were to be
K 2 “ present

His demands.

Garat immediately read to the convention the paper he had received. The contents were these :
 “ I demand a delay of three days to prepare myself
 “ to appear in the presence of God. To see, in
 “ private, the person I shall point out to the *commune*.—To be freed from the unceasing watchfulness which, for some days past, the *commune* has
 “ constantly exercised.—To communicate, in private, with my family.—That the convention may
 “ take into consideration the fate of my family, and
 “ permit them to retire whithersoever they please.—
 “ I recommend to the nation those persons who
 “ were attached to me, many of whom have no
 “ means of subsistence except the pensions I allowed
 “ them ; also those individuals who have expended
 “ their whole fortunes in procuring situations about
 “ me.—The person alluded to above is M. de Fer-
 “ mont, (Edgeworth,) No. 283, Rue de Bacq.”

Considered
by the con-
vention.

Several of these requests had been anticipated by the decree of the preceding day: On hearing the paper read, the convention immediately referred to that decree for so many particulars as it applied to. With respect to the king's family and servants they gave an evasive though flattering answer. It was contained in these words : “ The national convention authorizes the executive council to reply to
 “ Louis, that the French nation, *great in its bene-*

“ present at the reading of the sentence of death against Louis. He
 “ listened with uncommon *sang froid*; When the reading was over,
 “ he demanded access to his family, a confessor, in short every thing
 “ which could afford him consolation in his last moments. His
 “ gestures and his words were so replete with grace, dignity, nobleness, and greatness, that I could not resist them. Tears of rage
 “ moistened my eye-lids. There was in his look and in his manner
 “ something evidently supernatural. I retired, striving to restrain the
 “ tears which flowed in spite of me; and resolved that should be my
 “ last ministerial act about him.” This account, from such a man as
 “ Hebert, surpasses any eulogium that art, study, or even sensibility could
 “ dictate. It illustrates the observation of Boileau :

“ Il me semble en lui voir le diable,
 “ Que Dieu force à louer les saints.”

“ *science*

"*science as it is rigorous in its justice*", will take care "of his family, and provide for it a suitable fate." This was also understood to extend to his servants. The delay was peremptorily refused¹. When the king was informed of this last act of barbarous severity, he shielded himself with patience. "*Allons!*" he said, "*il faut se soumettre*.—Well, I must submit^k."

The abbé Edgeworth had been apprised by Malesherbes, that the king would probably require his services if he could obtain permission for him to attend. Garat, before he returned to the Temple with the answer of the convention, sent for the abbé to the Tuilleries, where the executive council were sitting; and, with an apparent consciousness of the danger of complying, asked, "If he would go to Louis in the Temple."—"Unquestionably I will," answered Edgeworth; "the king's request is to me an order." Garat then took the priest in his carriage, and conducted him to the Temple. The members of the council appeared overwhelmed with terror and consternation; and Garat, in the course of the journey, frequently exclaimed, "What a dreadful commission!"

Edgeworth
sent for;

goes to the
Temple;

Edgeworth had, while in the carriage, mentioned to the minister of justice, that as he was summoned to fulfil one of the most solemn and sacred duties of his ministry, he was desirous of observing the forms prescribed by the church, and urged the propriety of appearing in priest's vestments. Garat informed him it was impossible. He had rightly calculated on

treated
with indignity;

^b When we contemplate the insults and barbarities which the French nation heaped on this unfortunate family, and the wanton murder which involved the queen and the princess Elisabeth, if not the dauphin, in an untimely fate, nothing but a precise quotation of the very words of the legislature can prevent a suspicion that they are of more recent invention, and intended as a sarcasm on their injustice, meanness, and cowardly cruelty.

¹ Debates. Necker on the Revolution, vol. ii. p. 88. Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 591. Elogé.

^k Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 592.

the brutality of the council of the commune, then on duty at the Temple. They were of the most unfeeling and hardened class. Six or seven of them accompanied Garat into the king's presence; the remainder retained Edgeworth, in opposition to the known wish of the minister of justice to introduce him himself, treated him with the most disgraceful indignity, rudely searched all his pockets, opened his snuff-box to ascertain whether it contained poison, and examined his pencil-case lest it should conceal a stiletto. He was then permitted to ascend the staircase, where the guards at the different wickets were drunk, swearing and singing.

Introduced
to the king.

When Edgeworth was introduced to the king, the sight of his serene dignity, contrasted with the haggard and villainous looks of the wretches who surrounded him, affected the good abbé in the highest degree. The king made a motion expressive of his wish to be left alone with the confessor. As soon as the room was cleared, the abbé fell on his knees, kissed his majesty's hand, and bathed it with tears. The king was penetrated with this mark of respect and loyalty, which drew tears from him also. "Excuse me, M. Edgeworth," he said; "none but the most unrelenting of men have been allowed to approach me of late. My eyes are accustomed to them; but the sight of a man of humanity, a faithful subject, affects my whole soul, and melts me as you see."

Their conversation.

The king, having regained his serenity, led the abbé into his closet, and read twice over the will he had composed with a firm voice and proper emphasis, except at those places where mention is made of the queen, his children, and his sister¹. He

¹ This instrument is well known, and inserted in so many publications, that I have not placed it in the Appendix. It speaks the character of its author; generous, affectionate, grateful, and religious; and it displays a mind thinking justly, and incapable of being perverted or depressed by the most sinister circumstances and the most unmerited persecution.

then conversed on various topics, inquired after many of his friends, forgave and pitied his enemies, particularly the duke of Orleans, and deplored the fate of his deluded subjects. His whole conversation displayed the most sublime and heroic sentiments, and evinced a mind naturally great, enlarged, and fortified by a true sense of religion.

When he had finished conversing, he rose to make his last visit to his family, saying, "that would be his severest trial; but when it was over, he should fix his mind solely on what concerned his salvation."

The king prepares to see his family.

Leaving Edgeworth in his closet, the king repaired to the apartment where his family were already assembled. This room was only separated by a glass door from one where two commissioners were constantly on duty, and who consequently could hear all that passed. The interview lasted more than an hour. The conception of man can hardly depict a scene more awful and more affecting than was realised on this occasion. The king entered the room with calmness; and as he was alone, freed from his guards, his wife, sister, and children enjoyed a momentary hope that a brighter day was going to arise. They were soon undeceived. The silence of the king, his embraces, the tears which his efforts could no longer restrain, produced cries of despair which were heard beyond the precincts of the Temple. Though affected, at different times, beyond the power of expression, the king retained his presence of mind. When it became necessary to separate, he had occasion for some exertions to tear himself away from their passionate embraces, from their convulsive restraints. He gave them hopes of another meeting; but his last expressive look belied his words. His wife and sister fell senseless; his daughter, agitated by various emotions, was in a state which, for a time, precluded the hope of recovery. The dauphin ran after him, his voice lost in sobs, rapidly traversed

Their interview.

His wife and children.

The king's efforts to restrain his tears.

The king's expressive look.

Affectionate exertions of the dauphin.

versed the outer apartment, descended the stairs without any one being able to stop him, and reached the court-yard of the Temple. He addressed the guards in the most pitiful terms of supplication, his hands clasped, and throwing himself on his knees. "Let me pass, gentlemen; let me pass!—I want to speak to the people—to intreat them not to kill my papa, the king.—Ah! let me pass, gentlemen; in the name of God, do not hinder me!"—His intreaties were vain, and he was compelled to return.

The king's
piety.

The king returned to his own room in a state of inexpressible emotion. When he was somewhat recovered, he said to Edgeworth, "Alas! Why do I love with so much tenderness, and wherefore am I so tenderly beloved?" He then remained a few minutes in silent meditation, sighing and shedding tears. This natural effusion of sensibility being past, he began a religious conversation, and astonished his confessor, no less by his extensive knowledge, than by his exemplary piety.

His last
meal.

At ten o'clock, Clery intreated him, with tears in his eyes, to take some supper. In compliance with the wish of his faithful valet, the king ate a small quantity, and persuaded Edgeworth to do the same.

Desirous of
receiving
the sacra-
ment.

Edgeworth
requests
permission
to admini-
ster it.

After the meal, the abbé asked if the king would not desire to hear mass, and receive the communion. The king expressed the most earnest inclination, but suggested his despair of being able to prevail on the commissioners to allow it.—Edgeworth, whose zeal was not damped by the insults he had already undergone, undertook to solicit the favor. He judged rightly in expecting it would

This account respecting the dauphin is given by many authors, and particularly by Necker (on the Revolution, v. i. p. 106). It is in some respects improbable, and, notwithstanding the vouchers, to be considered with caution; but it is so interesting, that I did not think the omission of it justifiable.

not

not be granted without considerable difficulties, and many injurious reflections. On his first application, one of the commissioners said, "There are examples in history of priests who have mixed poison with the hostie." Suppressing his indignation at this reflection, Edgeworth calmly replied, "I have been sufficiently searched to satisfy you, but, to obviate all doubts, you yourselves may furnish me with the hostie." The council took time to deliberate, and at length agreed to the request on two conditions; first, that the priest should reduce the demand to writing, and sign it; and secondly, that the ceremony should conclude before seven o'clock the next morning. Edgeworth acceded to these proposals, and immediately went to impart the tidings. The king received them with gratitude, and prostrated himself in thanksgiving to God for the mercy. He then made his preparatory confession, that he might receive the sacrament the next day.

Edgeworth, seeing the king much exhausted, prevailed on him to lie down, and himself lay in Clery's bed. With a perfect consciousness that his last moment was rapidly approaching, the king slept the sleep of innocence, calm and undisturbed. Exempt from the terrors of conscience which would have haunted a tyrant under the same circumstances, he passed this his last night without agitation and in perfect tranquillity.

The king sleeps.

At five in the morning, the king called for Clery to assist him in dressing. He heard mass, and received the communion with the most profound devotion, expressing to the abbé his high sense of God's grace in permitting him to retain his faith in religion.

21st.
Receives the sacrament.

The king possessed a firmness and presence of mind superior even to that of his confessor. A noise was heard; Edgeworth, apprehensive that the fatal moment was already arrived, shewed signs of terror.

His firmness.

terror. The king maintained his wonted serenity. It was only the guard resuming their posts. His majesty addressed one of them, apparently to make some request. The answer he received was ; "*Citoyen, c'étoit bon ça quand vous étiez roi, mais vous ne l'êtes plus.*"—That might have been well enough, "citizen, when you were a king, but that's not the case now." The king turned to Edgeworth, saying, "You see how I am treated ; but nothing can shock me now."—At this period he heard footsteps on the stairs.—"They are coming," he said without emotion.

Arrival of
the com-
missioners.

The commissioners of the *commune*, with a constitutional priest, named Jaques Roux, at their head, came to announce that the hour was at hand. "It is enough," said the king ; "I will join you directly ; but I wish to pass a few moments alone with my confessor." He then repeated his recommendation of his family, and added a request, that Clery might be permitted to attend *the queen* ; fearful that the terms in which the wish was announced might frustrate its execution, he hastily corrected himself, and said, *my wife*. He offered a packet to Roux, desiring him to deliver it to the commune ; but this brutal imitator of Chaumette answered, "It is my duty to conduct you to the place of execution, and nothing more."—"You are right," said the king, and presented it to another commissioner, who accepted the charge, and delivered it faithfully.

Benevo-
lence of
Edge-
worth.

When he was retired with Edgeworth, he said : "All is consummated. Give me your last benediction." That tenderness of regard with which he always considered his friends, and which extended even to his enemies, had prevented the king from requesting the abbé to accompany him ; but that worthy minister voluntarily offered it, and professed his determination not to quit him. This promise cheered the king, and added to the complacency with

with which he was prepared to meet his last moment.

The king returned to the room where Santerre was waiting for him, and, in a firm tone, pronounced the word, *Marchons !* Before they came to the stairs of the Temple, the king, observing that the commissioners were all covered, desired Clerly to bring his hat, which he put on. He walked through the first court, and found the carriage in the second. Two commissioners, Jaques Roux, and another constitutional priest, named Jaques Claude Bernard, entered the coach. Two ill-looking fellows, belonging to the *gendarmes*, stood at the door. One of them entered the carriage; the king followed with Edgeworth, and the other *gendarme* placed himself by his comrade. They set out between half past eight and nine o'clock.

Departure
from the
Temple.

A profound silence prevailed among the people. The escort consisted of twelve hundred men, being twenty-five from each section of Paris, selected as tried patriots, and expert in military discipline. All the streets were, besides, crowded with national guards. The doors of most of the houses were shut, and the police had strictly forbidden any one to appear at the windows. All the acts of authority on that day bore the impression of crime, fear, and violence.

Procession
through
Paris.

Jaques Roux, seated opposite the king, fixed his eyes on him during the whole time. As the progress was extremely slow, the king asked Edgeworth for a prayer book. The abbé had none but his breviary, which he gave him, pointing out those psalms which were most proper in his situation. The king continued reading with great devotion, till he came

The king
arrives at
the scaffold.

^a From the disturbed, fierce, and menacing countenances of those two men, M. Edgeworth suspected that they had orders to assassinate the king in the coach, in case of the appearance of any powerful attempt to rescue him. The public papers of the following day asserted that this suspicion was but too well founded. Bernard's Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 273.

to the foot of the guillotine, which was erected between the pedestal which had supported the statue of Louis XV. and the *Champs Elisées*. He arrived at twenty minutes after ten.

His anxiety for Edgeworth.

The executioners having opened the coach-door, the king, laying his hand on Edgeworth's knee, said to the *gendarmes*, "Gentlemen, I recommend M. Edgeworth to your protection." They made no immediate answer, and he repeated his request with greater earnestness. "I conjure you to take care that no harm befall him after my death." One of these wretches, in a harsh, ironical tone of voice, replied, "Well, well, give yourself no farther trouble; we shall take care of him."

His hands tied.

The king, having thrown off his coat, was going to ascend the scaffold, when they seized his hands, intending to tie them behind his back. As he was not prepared for this last insult, his first movement was to repel it with indignation. But Edgeworth, sensible that all resistance would be vain, and would expose the king to outrages still more violent, said, "Sire, this new humiliation is another circumstance in which your majesty's sufferings resemble those of our Saviour, who will soon be your reward." The king's repugnance was instantly subdued. With a dignified air of resignation, he presented his hands. The executioners, drawing the cords with all their force, the king mildly said, "There is no need to pull so tight."

Edgeworth's benediction.

While he was ascending the scaffold, Edgeworth, as if by inspiration, uttered those remarkable words so well known throughout all Europe, "LOUIS, SON OF ST. LOUIS, ASCEND TO HEAVEN".

The king's speech,

As soon as the king came upon the scaffold, advancing with a firm step, to the part which faced the

* It is not a little remarkable that the agitation of this worthy man was so great that he forgot ever having uttered these words, though all writers agree in the fact. See Bertrand's *Memoirs*, vol. iii. p. 275. n.

palace,

palace, he desired the drums to cease, and was immediately obeyed, in spite of the orders they had received. He then pronounced, loud enough to be heard at the garden of the Tuilleries, "Frenchmen, I die innocent of all the crimes which have been imputed to me. I forgive my enemies. I implore God, from the bottom of my heart, to pardon them, and not to take vengeance on the French nation for the blood about to be shed.—"

He was continuing, when the brutal Santerre^p pushed furiously towards the drummers, and forced them to beat, without intermission. The executioners seized their victim, and placed him under the axe of the guillotine. And execution.

These transactions, from the time of his reaching the place of execution, occupied only two minutes. Edgeworth remained kneeling on the scaffold in a state of stupor, till roused by the cries of the populace; when he retired to the house of Maleherbes.

As soon as the act was done, the people, who had hitherto maintained a profound silence, exclaimed, *Vive la republique!* A troop of young men, placed for the purpose, commenced a dance round the scaffold. A youth, between eighteen and twenty years of age, caught up the bleeding head, and brandishing it with ferocious exultation, cried, *Vive la Nation!* Several persons dipped the points of pikes, pieces of paper, and pocket handkerchiefs in the blood. The king's hair had been cut off, before he ascended the scaffold, and was sold in small parcels for considerable sums. These latter actions are such as might, in some, proceed from mere curiosity, or a worse motive; in others they were undoubtedly Conduct of the people.

^p Montjoye asserts, I know not on what authority, that Santerre is unjustly accused of this atrocity; but he does not say who it was that ordered the drums to beat. See *Eloge*, p. 322. n. *Conjuration de d'Orleans*, vol. iii. p. 240. n. The assertion is contrary to every testimony.

the genuine display of loyalty, veneration, and pity. The theatres were shut in the evening; and the whole city appeared the residence of confusion and dismay¹.

The king
buried.

On the day of the king's execution, an old servant of his father, named le Duc, addressed a letter to the convention, praying for leave to inter him at Sens, with the rest of his family. This request was refused, on the motion of Chabot, who said, that Louis ought to be buried with other citizens, in the burying place of the section where he last resided. Legendre moved, that he might be permitted to cut up the body into eighty-four pieces, and send one to each of the departments, and the heart to the convention². The king's body was thrown without ceremony into a space in the church-yard of Saint Mary Magdalen, which was filled with quick lime, carefully guarded till the body was supposed to be entirely consumed, and then levelled with the circumjacent ground, that every trace of the spot where the monarch was deposited might be effectually obliterated³. His untimely end was honored by a general mourning in England, and most other countries in Europe.

Observa-
tions on his
character.

In relating the transactions of this unfortunate sovereign's life and reign, I have had so many occasions to digress in order to refute calumnies, and so many reasons for displaying the motives of his conduct, that nothing remains by which his character

¹ In relating the proceedings of the two last days of the life of Louis, I have principally relied on Bertrand, who drew his information from Edgeworth, and has detailed it with a precision, simplicity, and elegance; which I am apprehensive must have suffered considerably by the abridgment. See *Memoirs*, vol. iii. p. 238 to 277. I have also consulted the *Histories*; Moore's *Journal*, vol. ii. p. 590, et seq.; Neckar on the Revolution, vol. i. p. 404, et seq.; *Eloge*; Roux's Report to the Commune; and various other documents.

² *Debates*. Robespierre à ses Commettans, vol. ii. p. 234. *Eloge*, p. 304.

³ *Histories*. Miss Williams's *Letters* in 1793, vol. ii. Montjoye says he was buried under the organ in the church. *Eloge*, p. 330.

can be illustrated. The efforts of calumny have been so great and so successful, that the evidence of all his friends, and even the reluctant testimony of his enemies, have been insufficient to rescue his fame from obloquy. The want of firmness and courage is the principal fault, and the one most generally attributed to him; but that seems to result from a judgment formed on subsequent events, and from not duly considering his character in other particulars. The king certainly did not possess that active courage which prompts resistance, and produces magnanimous efforts; but in all his sufferings he displayed an energetic presence of mind which demonstrated that no exertion was too great for him, had his personal danger been the only obstacle. Could Louis have foreseen the events of the revolution so far as they personally affected him, it is very much to be doubted whether he would have altered his conduct, whether he would not have sacrificed his crown and his life rather than have resorted to measures which had a tendency to involve his country in a war, either civil or foreign. Averse to force, policy could alone prevent the incroachments of faction, and preserve the existence of royalty. The circumstances in which he was placed were so new, that experience, or any judgment formed on the experience of others, could not avail him. Advisers were so numerous, so specious, so contradictory, and so unsuccessful, that it is not wonderful that he is censured by so many writers for not adhering implicitly to their plans. His interrogatory, and his last will, remain undeniable testimonials of the quickness and correctness of his judgment, and the sincerity and goodness of his heart. His conduct on the most trying occasions, particularly the various insurrections which disgraced the latter years of his reign, denote his magnanimity; and his conduct, from the time his trial commenced till the moment which terminated his existence, forms a picture of excellence

lence almost surpassing humanity, and demonstrates the transcendent benefits of that religious purity which takes the sense of shame from premeditated ignominy, which deprives cruelty of its venom, and death of its sting.

Such was the man whom his ill fate doomed to reign over the French in an age when these virtues insured ruin instead of respect! Such was the man whose murder is still annually celebrated by an inhuman and impious festival!

Grief of
the queen.

THE eye of contemplation naturally turns towards the unhappy widow of the murdered monarch. On the day of their last interview, when the king quitted her, all comfort fled. No consideration could prevent her pouring forth her indignation in the most violent expressions against his enemies. She displayed the most poignant grief, and her screams were heard at intervals during the whole night'. The next day brought her the melancholy confirmation of all her apprehensions, and extinguished all hope (if perchance hope faintly glimmered in her mind) of seeing her husband once again. Her first act, after his death, displayed her sensibility, and shewed to what an abject state of degradation she was brought. She was obliged to petition the commissioners on duty at the Temple for mourning for herself and family. This request was referred to the convention, together with another, that Clery might be permitted to attend her son. The convention granted the first, but adjourned the consideration of the other demand; and it was never renewed".

Jan. 24th
She applies
for mourn-
ing.

Mode of
living in
the Tem-
ple.

In the conflict of parties which ensued from the death of the king to the beginning of June, when the triumph of the Mountain was complete, little

¹ Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 396.
² Debates.

attention was bestowed on the survivors of the royal family. They remained in the Temple under the inspection of commissioners, badly attended and wantonly insulted. The instruction of the two children formed at once an employment and a solace to their elder relatives. The young prince being now considered as king of France, was treated with suitable respect, and seated at the head of the table. A magnanimous nation would have considered this only as a natural effusion of parental tenderness, or, at worst, as an unimportant exhibition of inherent pride; but the republicans of France could not forgive, and it formed part of the accusations against both the queen and princess Elizabeth *.

The promise of the convention to shew its beneficence and justice, by taking due care of the royal family, had been treated by Robespierre, at the moment it was made, as an insignificant and servile effort of royalism †; and it was not to be doubted that when his party acquired an unlimited ascendancy, they would act conformably to these ferocious sentiments. Their first act of inhumanity was to separate the young prince from his surviving parent, and place him under the care of one Simon, a cobbler, who was invested with the charge of his education. This was done pursuant to a decree of the committee of public safety. The agony and distress of the unfortunate mother may be conceived, but not described. The fate of her husband was still fresh in her memory, and her mind foreboded the untimely end which injustice and cruelty were preparing for her son ‡.

1st July.
The queen
separated
from her
son.

Having once again directed the attention of the people to the miserable wrecks of royalty, the lead-

1st Aug.
Her re-
moval
from the
Temple.

* See their Trials.

† Robespierre à ses Commettans, vol. ii. p. 214.

‡ Histories.—When Drouet mentioned to the convention the execution of this inhuman decree, Robespierre expressed surprise that he should name such contemptible people. See Debates, July 7.

ers of the convention were assiduous to gratify the inhuman passions they had excited, and to pursue the work of cruelty and blood to its utmost extent. This became the more necessary in order to amuse the public mind, and divert their attention from the general affairs of the republic, which seemed peculiarly unprosperous. When the account of the surrender of Valenciennes arrived, Barrere presented a long report, which he closed with two decrees consisting of thirty articles. They directed, "That Marie Antoinette should be referred to the extraordinary tribunal, and instantly removed to the prison of the Conciergerie,"—and that "*The expence of the two children of Louis Capet, should be reduced to what is necessary to keep and feed two individuals.*" In the night when this decree was passed, two municipal officers repaired to the Temple to announce and execute it. The queen was in bed; they insisted on her rising; and, at her request, withdrew while she dressed herself. They then searched her pockets, and, deaf to her intreaties, took away all their contents. The principal object of her supplication was a pocket-book, which she vainly desired to preserve. With much difficulty, she obtained permission to take with her a small parcel, containing a change of linen and other mere necessaries. She took a farewell of her daughter and the princess Elizabeth, who displayed the greatest sensibility and affection; she was refused the consolation of seeing her son; but preserved an unabated fortitude. She descended into the court-yard, where a hackney-coach was waiting to remove her, with her bundle under her arm. One of the officers tendered his hand to help her into the carriage; but she refused his assistance.

Situation
in the Con-
ciergerie.

On her arrival at the Conciergerie, the barking of two mastiffs threw her into convulsions, from which she did not recover till the morning. Her cell, which was half under ground, was only eight feet square, miserably furnished with a hard straw bed, and very

thin coverings; her diet, soup and boiled meat^a. Soon after her removal to the Conciergerie, she applied to the municipality for a few necessaries, which were brutally refused; the reason assigned was, that to grant them was against *la sainte égalité*^b.

Her beauty was quite gone, and her appearance now indicated that grief and agitation had brought her to a premature old age. The administrators of the police, to gratify a barbarous curiosity, and, perhaps from motives of interest, daily introduced into her cell a herd of spectators to gaze on the ruins of degraded royalty^c.

8th Oct.
Her trial
proposed.

In this miserable abode the unfortunate queen had been confined upwards of two months, when the end of her sufferings approached. Billaud de Varennes made a motion that she should be immediately put on her trial; and Fouquier Tainville, the public accuser, drew up the act of accusation. This composition was a mass of absurd allegations, supported by abusive epithets, and outrageous calumnies. It extended to all the events of her life, prior and subsequent to the revolution; and by implication, to some acts previous to her arrival in France. It is needless to discuss this atrocious and absurd performance, which charged the queen with the commission of almost every crime, as well political as moral, and imputed to her events in which she could not possibly have had any influence.

Having been summoned before the revolutionary tribunal, this flagitious farrago was read to her, and she was interrogated, and cross-examined respecting the facts alledged. In her examination she displayed the utmost firmness and dignity; she answered the questions with force and precision, and frequently retorted the accusation on her judges. Counsel, or

14th.
Her inter-
rogatory.

^a Histories. Proceedings and Reports in the Convention.

^b Residence in France edited by Gifford, vol. i. p. 387. n.

^c See her interrogatory in Jordan's Political State of Europe, vol. v. p. 156.

official defenders, were then assigned, and her trial ordered to commence the next day.

19th.
and trial.

On the ensuing day, she was again brought before this bloody tribunal, and witnesses called in support of the various charges. Many of these were brought from the prisons, and knew that their only chance of escaping the charge of confederacy was their making such depositions as would support the act of accusation. Many were examined to prove matters of hearsay and reputed public notoriety; some swore to conversations with third persons which were denied by the parties said to have held them, or so totally improbable as not to merit the slightest attention. The official defenders did not make a single observation in behalf of their client, or offer any objection to these proceedings.

Her magnanimity.

The queen conducted herself with the most heroic firmness, and displayed great presence of mind. During the first hours of the trial, she played with her fingers on the back of a chair, as if it had been a piano-forte. She was frequently obliged to answer questions put to her, arising from the assertions of the witnesses, and to make observations on their perversions and absurdities. As she made no speech of any length, her eloquence hardly presents itself as a topic of discussion; but she displayed in her answers great calmness and sagacity, and frequently gave instances of that forcible style of laconic expression suited to insulted majesty. Of this I shall present the following examples, in the words of the report of her examination and trial.

“ Observation. That it was she who taught Louis Capet that art of profound dissimulation by which he had too long deceived the kind French nation, who did not suppose that perfidy and villainy could be carried to such a degree.”

“ Answer. Yes;—The people have been deceived, —cruelly deceived! but neither by me or my husband.”

“ Q. By

" Q. By whom then has the people been deceived ?

" A. By those who felt it their interest ; but it
" never was ours ^d."

Again.

" President. Was it not at *le Petit Trianon* that
" you were first acquainted with the woman La-
" motte ?

" A. I never saw her.

" Q. Was she not your victim in the famous
" affair of the necklace ?

" A. She could not be so, because I did not
" know her.

" Q. You persist then to deny that you knew her ?

" A. My plan is not to deny ; I have told the truth,
" and will persist in telling it ^e."

Further.

" President. Do you persist in saying that Bailly
" and la Fayette were not concerned in your flight
" on the night between the twentieth and twenty-
" first of June 1791 ?

" A. Yes.

" P. I shall observe to you, that in those facts you
" are contradicted by the declaration of your son.

" A. It is easy to make a child only eight years
" old say what one pleases.

" P. But one declaration alone was not judged
" sufficient—he was made to repeat it at different
" times—he has always said the same thing.

" A. Then I deny the fact ^f."

But these instances fall far short of one, which though well known and generally repeated, is so indicative of the infamy of the court, and of the heroism, judgment, and sensibility of the unhappy prisoner, that I cannot omit it. In the act of accusation was a charge in these words: " That the widow Capet,
" in every respect immoral, and a new *Agrippina*, is

^d Jordan's Political State of Europe, vol. v. p. 153.

^e Ibid. p. 184.

^f Ibid. p. 189.

“ so dissolute, and so familiar with all crimes, that
 “ forgetting her quality of mother, and the limits
 “ prescribed by the law of nature, she has not he-
 “ sitated to prostitute herself with Louis Charles Ca-
 “ pet her son; and according to the confession of
 “ the latter, she has committed indecencies with
 “ him, the very idea and name of which strike the
 “ soul with horror.”

This abominable accusation was not touched on in her interrogatory; but on her trial, Hebert deposed to a conversation between himself and Simon, in which Simon had related some confession or narrative of the dauphin, confirming the fact above recited. The president of the tribunal, from a motive of modesty or humanity seldom displayed in that court, but which the enormous wickedness of this charge excited, forbore any examination of the prisoner; but one of the jury requested him to demand some declaration on the subject.

The queen returned the following energetic reply:
 “ I remained silent, because nature holds all such
 “ crimes in abhorrence!”—Then turning with an animated air to the people,—“ I appeal to all mothers
 “ who are present in this auditory,—is such a thing
 “ possible?” This pathetic appeal was accompanied with a tear, the only symptom of weakness during the whole trial^b.

The

^a Jordan's Political State of Europe, vol. v. p. 150.

^b Ibid. p. 164. Miss Williams in her Letters in 1794, vol. i. p. 153. gives the following anecdote respecting the effect of this absurd and horrible charge on Robespierre: “ A curious account of the evidence in support of these charges, and the effect which her behaviour produced upon Robespierre, is recorded by Vilate, a young man of the revolutionary tribunal. The scene passed during the trial, at a tavern near the Tuilleries, where he was invited to dine with Robespierre, Barrere, and St. Just. ‘ Seated around the table,’ he says, ‘ in a close and retired room, they asked me to give them some leading features of the evidence on the trial of the Austrian. ‘ I did not forget that expostulation of insulted nature, when Hebert accusing Antoinette of having committed the most shocking crime, she turned with dignity towards the audience, and said, ‘ I appeal to the conscience and feelings of every mother present to declare,

The evidence being finished, and several new questions answered, the president asked, "Have you any thing to add to your defence?" The queen replied: "Yesterday I did not know the witnesses; I knew not what they were to depose against me; and nobody has produced any positive fact. I finish by observing, that I was only the wife of Louis XVI. and that it was requisite in me to conform to his will." The interrogatories being closed, Fouquier Tainville moved for judgment; the queen was taken out of the hall; and Herman, the president, summed up the evidence, or rather made a speech from his own invention, replete with the calumnies advanced in the act of accusation, of which no legitimate or relevant proof had been adduced¹.

The jury retired for about an hour, and then returned, affirming all the charges. Found guilty.

The queen was then brought in, and heard the verdict read. Fouquier moved for sentence of death on two articles of a penal code, framed, not only since the pretended facts were alleged to have taken place, but since the queen had been imprisoned. She was asked, if she had any objection to make to the Sentence of death passed;

"if there be one among them who does not shudder at the idea of such horrors."—Robespierre, struck with this answer, as by an electrical stroke, broke his plate with his fork. "That block-head Hebert!" cried he, "as if it were not enough that she was really a Messalina, but he must make her an Agrippina also, and furnish her with the triumph of exciting the sympathy of the public in her last moments."

¹ The author of the Impartial History asserts, that some of the charges were substantiated, particularly those of her favouring anti-patriotic sentiments in the French guards on the 1st Oct. 1789, and her activity in assisting the flight of the royal family to Varennes. Without discussing the malignity of this insinuation, or the propriety of advancing such charges after the acceptance of the constitution, which this pretended impartialist does not condescend to notice; without adverting to the situation of the prisoner, who had no means of producing evidence in contradiction; I assert, that neither of these facts was adequately proved. Lecointre of Versailles vaguely deposed some facts relating to a treat given in the hall of the opera; but the inference from them was positively denied, and no attempt made to substantiate it by better evidence. With respect to the journey to Varennes, no distinct act of the queen was proved, but merely a coincidence with her husband's views, and submission to his directions.

sentence ; but, conscious of having defended herself rather with a view to manifest innocence, than to avoid condemnation, she bowed in token of submission. Her official defenders declined making any opposition ; and the president having gathered the suffrages of his colleagues, pronounced sentence of death, and immediate execution.

16th.
and executed.

It was half past four o'clock, when the queen was remanded to prison, and put into the cell allotted to condemned criminals. At five the *generale* was beat. At seven the whole armed force was drawn out, and cannon placed on the bridges and in the squares. At half past eleven the queen was placed in a tumbril, or dung-cart, with her back to the horse, a mode of conveyance which, in the old system, was reckoned peculiarly infamous. She was dressed in a white waistcoat with sleeves, and a white cap, both discoloured with smoke, and disgracefully shabby ; her neck and shoulders bare, and her hands tied behind her. By her side was seated the curate of St. Landrey (a constitutional priest, with whom she could not communicate) and the executioner. She maintained her wonted firmness and courage, and smiled contemptuously at the exclamations of the mob. When she ascended the scaffold, she looked towards the garden of the Tuilleries with some appearance of agitation. The executioner performed his office. Her head was displayed to the multitude ; her corpse was interred like that of her husband, in the church-yard of *la Madeleine*, and the grave filled up with quick-lime^k.

Marie

^k See *Procès des Bourbons*, vol. iii. The trial of the queen in Jordan's *Political State of Europe*, vol. v. and one less perfect, published by the conductor of the Times. Miss Williams, in her *Letters* in 1794, vol. i. p. 155. asserts, that in returning to the Conciergerie, the queen's firmness forsook her ;—that she burst into tears, but recollected herself, and promised to behave with more firmness in her way to the scaffold. She further asserts, that her countenance in the way to the place of execution evinced marks of agitation almost preter-

Marie Antoinette was sacrificed, to the inhospitable rage of the French nation, in the thirty-eighth year of her age. Of her early charms, and their premature decline, I have already spoken. The system of calumny pursued against her was so general and so extensive, that to undertake her total exculpation seems almost Quixotism. The principal charges advanced by her enemies are, dilapidation of the finances by her private expences, and by large remittances to her brother the emperor; and matrimonial infidelity. On the subject of her private expences the reader is referred to the preceding pages of this essay. With respect to the sums transmitted to the emperor many assertions have been made, without the adduction of a single proof written or oral. Had the fact been so, neither kind of proof could have been wanting; the absence of proof supplies the greatest probability, or rather certainty, that the accusation was unfounded. Her explanation on this subject in the course of her interrogatory, is clear, precise, and satisfactory. It was as follows:

Character
of the
queen.

Observation.—Not content with dilapidating, in
“ a shocking manner, the finances of France, the
“ fruits of the sweat of the people, for the sake of
“ her pleasures and intrigues, in concert with infamous ministers, she had sent to the emperor
“ thousands of millions to serve against the nation
“ which fostered her.

Answer.—Never:—I know this mean artifice
“ has often been employed to my prejudice; I
“ loved my husband too much to dilapidate the

preternatural. Pagès confirms the first part of this account (see vol. ii. p. 156.); but none of the journalists or eye-witnesses, though sufficiently ready to have derogated from the character of the queen, have taken any notice of these extraordinary facts. I therefore am much inclined to think them more recent fabrications. To Miss Williams's testimony I give little credit; she could not be an eye-witness, and is so little solicitous about truth in her compilations, that, besides frequently retailing the most absurd calumnies against the royal family, she has preserved a ridiculous and improbable fiction of the king having to the last moment of his life entertained hopes of a rescue!

“ treasure

“treasure of his country. My brother did not want money from France, and from the same principle which attached me to France, I would not have given him any¹.”

This unfounded accusation is still further refuted by the contradiction of those from whom it originated, who, while they charged the queen with dilapidations amounting to *thousands of millions*, implicated her in a disgraceful trick, which, if successful, would have produced only one million of livres (43,750 *l.*) to be shared between her and six or seven sharers.

The other point of accusation, matrimonial infidelity, is supported by assertions so numerous, that individuals are fearful of expressing doubts on a subject which seems so strongly advanced. The nature of the charge resists the demand of evidence from those who detail it; yet it might be supposed from the number of instances adduced, (for there was hardly a courtier of figure or a traveller of consequence that was not ranked among her favorites,) that some proof would in the course of the revolution have come to light. But even on her trial, though the fact was alledged in the most indecent terms, the proof was not attempted. The circumstantial evidence is decidedly on the other side; for if we lay no stress on the fidelity and courage with which the queen, in the most trying situations, fulfilled the duties of wife and mother, still it appears impossible that she should have been beloved as she was by her husband, had a single fact advanced against her been true, or the suspicion in any wise founded. That she could have conducted her intrigues in private is impossible; because from the moment of her arrival in France to that of her death, she was surrounded with spies and enemies. If the slightest of these accusations had been true, it is not

¹ Queen's Trial by the conductor of the Times, p. 2.

possible

possible that she should have retained to his last hour the warmest affections of a king, who united with the most inflexible virtue, the highest sense of honour, and the greatest horror of impropriety^m. Could the queen in such a case have possessed the esteem and affection of the unsullied and uncalumniated princess Elizabeth, so firmly, that on the celebrated twentieth of June, she offered to lose her own life for her protection? The queen's own declaration at the time when she was pleading for her fame, without hope of her life, is remarkable, and convincing from its genuine appearance of candor and virtuous defiance. Speaking of *Trianon*, the supposed seat of her voluptuous revels, she said: "I wish more than any one, *that every thing which took place there may be made public*."

AFTER the removal of the queen to the prison of the Conciergerie, the children of Louis were left under the care of their aunt, madame Elizabeth, who endeavoured by acts of kindness and attention to alleviate the misery of their condition. She was careful in imparting to the young prince sentiments of religion, humanity, and forgiveness. She always treated him with so much respect, that the commissioners on duty at length thought it necessary to reprehend, and finally to remove the children to separate apartmentsⁿ.

The princess Elizabeth's treatment of the dauphin.

The princess was now compelled to perform the most menial offices herself. She dressed the scanty meal allowed her, and swept the floor of her prison

Severities of government.

^m The reader is requested to recollect the king's conduct towards du Barry, and judge by that if he would have connived at impurity in his own wife.

ⁿ Jordan's Political State of Europe, vol. v. p. 184. Some hints for this exculpation of the queen are taken from Playfair. See History of Jacobinism, p. 583.

^o Miss Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. ii. p. 51.

with

with her own hands ! The people seemed to have forgotten that she existed, and to have consigned her, without consideration, to the brutality of her jailors.

The princess called as a witness.

She was called as a witness on the trial of Bailly, to prove some facts relative to the transaction of the *Champ de Mars*, but declined giving any testimony. Her answer to the question put to her by the president of the tribunal was, " You know that " the blood of your sovereign pardons, but does " not accuse ? "

16th May
1794.
Deputation
petition for
her death.

In the ensuing spring, Robespierre meditated the destruction of the Cordeliers ; and with his usual policy, resolved to occupy the public with some other event to hinder the friends of his victims from exciting commotions to revenge their fate. With this view, two days after he had denounced the conspiracy of the Cordeliers, and obtained the arrest of their principal members, a deputation from the section of the Pantheon, tutored for the purpose, attended at the bar of the convention, and required that " the impure remains of the family who but- " chered the people on the 10th of August, should " fall under the avenging and protecting sword of " the law¹."

Her act of
accusation.

The life of this truly amiable princess had been so virtuous, so beneficent, so exempt from blame, that it was a matter of some difficulty to frame her act of accusation. It contains many general allegations, couched in the most indecorous and insulting language ; but nothing which applied particularly to the conduct of the princess, except a charge that she had dressed the wounds of some *fédérés*, whom the Marseillois had wantonly attacked on their arrival in Paris ; that she had sent her diamonds to the count d'Artois, and that since the death of the king she had treated the young prince with distinctions due to royalty².

¹ Derniers Regicides.

² Debates.

³ See the Act of Accusation. *Procès des Bourbons*, vol. iii. p. 171.

It is asserted by many writers, and confidently ^{10th May. Trial,} believed, that one single answer decided the fate of the princess. That, having replied to the question of the president of the revolutionary tribunal, "I am aunt to the king," she was immediately declared guilty*. Her interrogatory consisted of several questions. Her answers were frank and obviously true; but the president, after malignant and vain endeavours to pervert her meaning and refute her assertions, at length petulantly observed, that her plan of defence was *to deny every thing*. As a last effort, he interrogated her, "Whether she had not comforted her nephew with the hopes of succeeding to his father's throne?" She answered, "I have conversed familiarly with that unfortunate child, who has more than one claim to my affection; and I gave him all those consolations which appeared to me likely to reconcile him to the loss of those who had given him birth." This answer was construed as an acknowledgment of a plot "to build up the wrecks of a subverted throne, by deluging it with the blood of the patriots." On this observation, without hearing a single witness, the princess was condemned†.

Four and twenty persons were tried at the same ^{and execution.} time, and condemned for the same conspiracy. They were all, except one woman, who declared herself pregnant, guillotined the same day. The princess was executed last. Her conduct on her trial, and till the moment of her death, was calculated to prove before a tribunal of atheists the firmness and composure which religion can communicate to a mind naturally timid. She fell at the age of thirty‡.

* See Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 503. Playfair's History of Jacobinism, p. 657.

† See her Interrogatory Procès des Bourbons, vol. iii. p. 171. Miss Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. ii. p. 52.

‡ Procès, &c. vol. iii. p. 185. Les Derniers Regicides.

Beauty of
the dau-
phin.

THE beauty and juvenile graces of the dauphin are mentioned in the highest terms by persons who had the best means of judging on the subject*. These qualities, however, were so far from producing their usual effect in his favor, that it is not improbable they added the incitements of fear to malignant cruelty, and contributed to embitter his lot and shorten his days.

Severe mo-
tions
against
him.

The young prince was early marked out as a victim by the republicans. His education had been the topic of many contests†. When the trial of the king was in agitation, the child, whose tender years precluded the possibility of sharing in his pretended crimes, was nevertheless doomed to participate in his punishment. Mailhe said in his report, "Louis Charles ought to be guarded with the utmost strictness, till the day when tyrants hurled from their thrones might carry their insignificance where they thought proper, and excite no more interest than Dionysius did at Corinth‡." Such was the language spoken in a legislature which braved the united arms of all Europe, and yet affected to apprehend ill consequences from the liberation of a helpless infant.

Observa-
tion.

But even admitting that a solicitude for the public safety might make the republican rulers too cautious in preventing every interruption of the national peace, what sentiment could prompt the subsequent cruelties which brought this unfortunate child to an untimely grave, and display unparalleled meanness and malignity in those who invented and those who sanctioned them?

Hardships
of his im-
prison-
ment;

When the prince was parted from all his female relations, he was committed to the care of Simon a cobbler, who was appointed his tutor. This wretch rigidly enforced the parsimonious decree of the

* Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 40. Peltier's late Picture of Paris, vol. i. p. 201.

† Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 148.

‡ See Mailhe's Report, 7th Nov. 1793.

legislature,

legislature, which reduced the food of his charge to a bare sufficiency for the sustenance of nature, and endeavoured to poison his mind with the principles and language of the *sans-culottes*, and to impair his faculties by the habit of early intoxication. The affected fears of conspiracy and escape were employed as the means of increasing the torments of the unhappy orphan. His guards were accustomed to knock many times in the night at the door of his apartment, and exclaim with a terrific voice, "Capet! are you there?" The child, waking in terror, answered, "Yes, here I am."—"Come hither then, and let me see you," exclaimed the guard. Upon which the innocent object of this wanton persecution was obliged to rise and shew himself naked at the wicket. The guard then gave him leave to retire to bed, and he lay trembling and dozing till the same scene was repeated. The offices of cleanliness were totally neglected. He could not, like his female relations, supply the deficiency of attendants by his own exertions. His chamber was disgusting through accumulated filth; his flesh was never properly washed, and his hair was matted for want of being combed. His health appeared obviously to decline; and from long suffering, and the absence of hope, his mind would probably have been no less impaired than his body.

After the fall of Robespierre it might have been expected that the rigor of the child's fate would have been softened; but the *reign of terror* and the *reign of virtue* were to him alike. Four months after the destruction of the tyrant, a deputation from the committee of general safety attended at the bar of the convention, to repel with indignation an assertion advanced in the *Courier Universel*, importing that "the committee of general safety, persuaded that no one ought, merely because he was the son of a king, to be degraded below humanity, had appointed three commissioners, men of probity and knowledge in the place of Simon; two of them

continued
after the
fall of Ro-
bespierre.
ad Dec.
1794.

"them charged with the education of the orphan, "and the third to take care that he did not, as "formerly, want necessaries." This imputation roused the anger of the committee, which was declared by its orator, Mathieu, "to have been a "stranger to every idea of meliorating the captivity "of the children of Capet, or of appointing them "instructors. The committees, and the convention," he added, "know how to strike off the "heads of kings, but they know not how to educate their children." In the course of the same month, Lequinio declared that France would never be at peace while the offspring of the tyrant remained among them, and moved that the committee of government should devise the means of sending the son of Louis out of the territories of the republic. This was decreed; but no steps were taken to put the decree in execution.

9th June
1795.
His death.
Suspicion
of poison.

Death at length delivered the legislators from their embarrassment, and their victim from his woes. As some suspicions were entertained that his fate had been accelerated by poison, three surgeons were commissioned to open him. They made a vague report, tending to prove that he died of a scrophulous complaint; but there are many reasons to believe that he was poisoned. The expediency of destroying the direct heir to the crown was a motive, and the untimely death of the three surgeons, Duffault, Doublet, and Choppart, is a strong corroborating circumstance. The fact is affirmed by republican as well as royalist writers*, and becomes unquestionably credible, if we believe the assertion of Charrette, the Chouan chief, that, in order to induce him to lay down his arms, the government engaged, by a secret article, to restore the ancient monarchy, in the person of Louis XVII.^a

* See Pagès, vol. ii. p. 407.

^a For the preceding facts, besides the Debates, I have consulted Necker on the Revolution, vol. ii. p. 84. the new Annual Register for 1795, p. 212. 247; Les Derniers Regicides, &c.

JEAN SILVAIN BAILLY.

THE name of Bailly stood in the foremost ranks of celebrity in the early days of the revolution ; it fell afterwards into oblivion, and was only brought again to light for the purpose of exciting the popular vengeance against the man who had shared most largely the idolatry of the people. He, like many others, abandoned the safe and quiet shore of loyalty and obedience, to adventure on the boisterous sea of popular commotion, became convinced of his folly too late, and was shipwrecked in his attempt to regain the haven.

Bailly was born at Paris ; his father was a wine merchant in the Fauxbourg St. Antoine. He had an uncle who was keeper of the pictures in the royal cabinet, and some other relations who held places under government. He was at first intended for the church, but on the death of an uncle, who left him a competency, he renounced his first intention and studied for the bar. This profession, however, was no more congenial to his taste than the church, and he devoted himself principally to the study of natural philosophy. He published several works which procured him a seat in the three academies, and recommended him to the notice of the court, from whom he received a pension of ten thousand livres (437 *l.* 10 *s.*) a-year, and apartments in the Louvre^b.

1725.
Birth,
education,
and pur-
suits.

Pension.

^b Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 231 ; Playfair's History of Jacobinism, 140. 606. Montjoye says, that his emoluments amounted to twenty-five thousand livres (1093 *l.* 15 *s.*) a-year. Eloge, &c. p. 116, n.

1789.
Member of
the consti-
tuent as-
sembly.

3d June.
President
of the
tiers-etat.

Bailly was an active member of the societies formed by the corruption of free-masonry, which abounded in France, and contributed so much to hasten the revolution*. At the assembling of the states general, he was returned member of the *tiers-etat*. In this situation he entered warmly into the views of those who were desirous to humble the superior orders, and degrade the sovereign, views which he pursued with the most unrelenting eagerness. Before the junction of the three orders, he was chose a president or dean of the *tiers-etat*; he filled the office with all the parade and insolence of inflated self-importance, which he had an opportunity of displaying on the day of his nomination. It had been the custom, when a deputation was sent from either of the two higher orders of the king, that his majesty received them in person, but when one was sent from the *tiers-etat*, they were received by the keeper of the seals, who carried their requests to the king. This custom was derived from antiquity; but in the present disposition of the *tiers-etat*, it gave umbrage, and to break through it they framed a message of small importance, required the president to inform the king, that the commons acknowledge no intermediate channel of communication between themselves and his majesty, and desired to know when he would receive them in person. This message was transmitted as usual through the keeper of the seals, on the very day the dauphin died at Meudon. The king returned for answer that he could see them neither that evening or on the morrow, and that he could not, in his present afflicted state, fix a time for their attendance. This message was written in his own hand, but the ferocious assembly, deaf to the voice of nature, and blind to every object but the point they wished to attain, persevered in their demand, and the king,

* Robison's Proofs of a Conspiracy, p. 50. 403.

fearful

fearful of worse consequences, was obliged to receive them the next day between eleven and twelve o'clock. The deputation, twenty in number, with Bailly at their head, waited on the king; he was their spokesman, and concluded an address on the stale subject of the union of the orders, with hypocritical assurances of attachment to the person of his sovereign, and concern for his loss; assurances, which had they been founded, would have spared the monarch a mortification which wrung from his bosom the pathetic exclamation, "Alas! then there are no fathers amongst the members of the *tiers-etat*!"

Bailly continued in this office of dean of the *tiers-etat*, till that body voted themselves a national assembly, and then he was made provisionally president for four days only*. At this time occurred that famous transaction, which set the *tiers-etat* completely above the other two orders, and shewed the king himself that he had no resource, either in his private virtues or the loyalty of his people, against a combination the most subtle in its contrivance and fatal in its effect. Necker, alarmed at the obstinacy of the *tiers-etat*, and having in vain proposed plans of accommodation, prevailed on the king to proclaim a royal sitting, at which a system of government was to be presented to the three orders, with directions for their conduct towards each other in respect to the verification of powers. The outlines of this plan had been communicated, and the faction who ruled the assembly were doubly anxious to prevent its taking effect. They had prevailed on the majority of the clergy to join with them, but on the day appointed for that purpose the royal sitting was

17th June.
President
of the as-
sembly.

* Moore's View of the Causes and Progress of the French Revolution, vol. i. p. 183. Eloge Funebre de Louis XVI. par M. Montjoye, p. 141. Anecdotes, &c. vol. i. p. 352. Wilde's Address to the Friends of the People, 486.

* Impartial History of the French Revolution, vol. i. p. 85. Debates.

20th June.
Oath in
the tennis-
court.

21st.

22d.

proclaimed. When Bailly presented himself at the door of the hall he was refused admittance, and informed that no person would be permitted to enter the hall of the *States general*; he replied, that "he would give an account of the proceeding to the *national assembly*." The deputies were already assembled in various groupes about the gate, a report was circulated that a dissolution of the assembly was intended, which produced much clamour, and many pointed animadversions; at length the president, accompanied with the secretaries, returned to the hall, and demanded all the papers belonging to the assembly; having received them, he went with the rest of the deputies who were assembled, to a neighbouring tennis-court, and after many inflammatory harangues, they all took an oath never to part till the constitution was completed. It rained violently, and the mob, which was continually increasing, expressed high indignation at the inconvenience sustained by the representatives of the people, which they attributed entirely to the court. The king was at Marli; when he returned on the morrow, he wrote to M. Bailly with his own hand to inform him that the royal sitting could not be held till the 23d, and intimating his desire that no meeting of the national assembly should take place in the intermediate time; but the assembly were too impatient to effect the proposed junction with the clergy, to accede to any hints of delay, and too much intoxicated with the applause of the people to forbear any indulgence which circumstances could supply. They repaired to the tennis-court to meet the clergy, but found it occupied by an immense multitude, as desirous to be spectators of the ceremony as they to perform it. Disappointed here, they repaired to the *Couvent des Recolets*, and requested the use of the church. The monks declined accommodating them, though in a manner which could convey no offence. They

They now converted the apparent embarrassment of their situation into an additional claim on the admiration of the multitude. They returned therefore to their own hall, where, as they reasonably expected, they were refused entrance; finally they went to the church of St. Louis, where they were admitted without hesitation, and those members who had not yet taken the oath administered in the tennis-court, then received it. After the performance of this ceremony, they were joined by the clergy, who descended in form from the choir, and being received with open arms by their new associates, proceeded to the verification of their powers, as did two nobles, the first seceders from the resolutions of the majority of their peers¹.

On the 23d of June, the day of the royal sitting, Bailly was active and strenuous in his remonstrances with the Marquis de Brézé, against the indignity offered to the body over which he presided, by detaining them under an out-house in a shower of rain, while the superior orders took their seats. He was the first, after the king's departure, to indicate a contempt and defiance of his orders, till then unheard of, by declaring to Brézé, who came to remind the assembly of his majesty's injunctions for their adjournment, till the next day, that "the national assembly received commands from no person." This act of opposition was so daring as to throw astonishment even into that factious body; they remained silent, and probably the president would have been left alone to bear the effects of his temerity, had he not been succoured by Mirabeau, who, after a speech full of invectives against the master of the ceremonies, said, "the assembly sat there by virtue of the will of the people, and would not be expelled but by the point of the

23d.
Royal sitting.

¹ Impartial History, vol. i. p. 89. Moore's View, vol. i. p. 219. Pagès. Histoire Secrète de la Revolution, vol. i. p. 107. Arthur Young's Travels, p. 115, 116.

"bayonet." This step restored the courage of the assembly, and Bailly, relieved from the embarrassment of his situation by the unanimity of his colleagues, said to the marquis, "the assembly decreed yesterday that they would continue their meeting after the royal session; I can make no alteration in that decree;" and authorized Brézé to carry that message to the king^a.

Bailly's
popularity.

To the transactions of these memorable days Bailly principally owed his popularity. The junction of the orders was by many ascribed to him, because he was president; the people assembled at his door and hailed him with shouts and acclamations^b. Though his proceedings must have been peculiarly gratifying to the Orleans faction, yet there is no reason for supposing Bailly particularly attached to them; he was a member of the *Club Breton*, but it is not apparent that he was connected with the cabinet of the *Palais Royal* more than with that of Versailles; a fact which, though it establishes the independence of his character, does not take away the odium from the brutality of his behaviour in many instances, his conspicuous ingratitude, and the sinister means he used to degrade the king, and alienate from him the affections of the people. Bailly was desirous, above all things, of popularity; his disinterestedness and independence were subservient to that wish, and though his mind led him to a connexion more pure than that of Orleans (la Fayette), he was not sufficiently endowed with integrity to prevent his countenancing and even participating many of the crimes which disgraced his country.

14th July.
Mayor of
Paris.

After the murder of Flesselles, he was elevated to the rank that unfortunate man had held; but the title of *Prévôt des Marchands* was abolished, and that

^a Moore's View, vol. i. p. 231. Histories.

^b Anecdotes, &c. vol. vi. p. 232; Pagès, vol. i. p. 118.

of mayor of Paris substituted. He is said to have owed this elevation to the intrigues of Orleans and Mirabeau, who were anxious to attach to their party the men of letters, and thought this homage paid to an individual of their class a tempting allurements¹. He, however, ascribed his new dignity to his own merit alone, and his vanity was proportionably augmented. He gave his servants a kind of livery, resided in a superb hotel, and ornamented the panels of his carriage with three golden bees, an affectation which demonstrated that he was in no respect superior to the vain-glorious mob of upstarts².

In virtue of his office, he was appointed to regulate the ceremony when the king entered the capital; he did this in a manner which displayed his pride, and proved his anxiety to deprive the monarch of all respect and personal consideration. Though it was notorious that the royal family entertained fears very justly founded, that the assassination of the king was projected, he would not allow him the comfort and protection of his faithful *gardes du corps*; he forbade them to enter the city; at a certain distance from Paris the royal carriage was met by a detachment of the national guard, incorporated with the treacherous *gardes Françaises*; the *gardes du corps* were obliged to return to Versailles, and the king, to whom the plot to assassinate him had been mentioned, was left thus guarded, or rather exposed, to pursue his cheerless journey to the city, during which the customary effusion of loyalty, *Vive le Roi!* was omitted, and by order of the mayor and la Fayette, the national guard and the attending mob screamed out *Vive la Nation*. At the entrance of the city, at a place

17th.
Behaviour
to the king
on his en-
try into
Paris.

¹ Histories. Playfair's History of Jacobinism, 158.

² Apologie des projets des Chefs de la Revolution, p. 208. Anecdotes, &c. vol. vi. p. 232.

called *la Barriere des Conferences*, the inflated mayor, with the smile of self-gratulation, presented the keys to the king, with that quaint and well-known observation, "These are the identical keys which were presented to Henry IV. when that monarch re-conquered his people, but in the present instance the people have re-conquered their king." At the *Hotel de Ville* he placed on the brow of the unfortunate monarch that degrading cockade, the colours of which were calculated to impress on his mind the triumph and popularity of Orleans, who wished to supplant him on the throne¹.

33d.
Intercedes
for Ber-
thier and
Foulon.

Bailly had soon an opportunity of proving by experience, that the restraint of law being once withdrawn from a licentious populace, eloquence and wisdom would exert themselves in vain; he saw it in the ill-success of his earnest mediation for Berthier and Foulon, who were savagely butchered in spite of his intercession.

30th July.
Receives
Necker.

At the return of Necker to Paris, Bailly attended with the representatives of the commune, and made him a complimentary oration. He, doubtless, hoped, from the recall of this popular minister, that his office would be freed from many difficulties. He expected the restoration of plenty and tranquillity, the formation of a constitution, and the confirmation of his authority, with the reduction of the royal prerogative. Short-sighted, vain, and self-sufficient, he readily credited the popular outcry, without perceiving the malice of those by whom it was raised. Incapable of discerning the intrigues of the Orleans faction, he fancied that all the miseries of which the people complained originated with the court, and that, if left to his own free agency, he could prevent every disaster. He made some exertions to this

¹ Histories. Histoire de la Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 81. Anecdotes, &c. vol. i. p. 192.

effect,

effect, but they thwarted the views of the duke of Orleans, and raised considerable clamor^m.

Though his situation furnished him with the means ^{5th Oct.} of better information, he was totally ignorant of the projected insurrection of the 5th of October; he considered it a spontaneous movement of the people, and was astonished when he heard that the *poissardes* had threatened his life, together with that of la Fayette, not knowing that his office was coveted for a more able individual, and more decided partisan. On the 6th of October, when the royal family came to Paris ^{6th. Receives the king. His speech and conduct.} in the evening, and when, after the fatigue and disturbance of that and the preceding day, it was obvious that they required repose, the vanity of Bailly, who was directed to receive them at the Hotel-de-Ville, induced him to make a long, impertinent harangue, in which, amongst other atrocities, he called that day a *beautiful day*. He did worse; from a motive which can hardly be softened into negligence or misapprehension, he misrepresented the words of his unfortunate king, with a view to prevent any impression of kindness. The king said that he came with joy and confidence to reside in his good city of Paris: the mayor repeating the words to the people assembled, omitted the expression, *with confidence*, which alone conveyed any compliment to them. The queen, aware of this intention, exclaimed, loud enough to be heard by all present; "You omit, M. Bailly, the king said, *with joy AND CONFIDENCE*." Confused at this detection, he said to the by-standers, "Gentlemen, you hear it from the queen's own mouth, which must give you much more pleasure than to learn it from mine." He again waited on the royal family the next day at the Thuilleries, and made them an hypocritical harangue on the joy and affection which was felt by all Paris on seeing them inhabit the palace of their ancestors: he

^m Histories, particularly Impartial History, vol. i. p. 200. Conjur-
 ration de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 157.

well knew, at the time, that the palace was intended for their prison, that the joy of the city was exultation in successful treason, and that the affection of the people was but a term for insolence and contemptⁿ.

Exerts
himself, to
supply the
capital.

But when la Fayette came to state the information he had gained on the night of the 5th, his suspicions respecting Orleans, and on the true causes of the scarcity and popular commotion, the mayor was anxious to co-operate heartily with him in the removal of these evils. He exerted himself to the utmost of his power to take away all restraints from the supplying of the capital, and to procure a sufficiency of grain, in which by the assistance of the intrepid and discerning Vauvilliers, and by the absence of Orleans, he succeeded during the remainder of his mayoralty.

19th.
Receives
the thanks
of the as-
sembly.

On the first sitting of the assembly in Paris, he attended with the compliments of the *commune*, and was honored with a vote of thanks and approbation. The capital, after the departure of the duke, remained in a tolerable state of quiet, the murder of François, the baker, excepted, which produced the famous martial law in which Bailly heartily coincided.

21st.

1790.

Yet he did not renounce his factious principles; his attachment to la Fayette led him to adopt all his measures, and he was amongst the most active, both by his countenance and authority, to disturb the sittings of the club called the Friends of Monarchy^o.

May.
Presents a
medal to
the king.

He presented to the king a bronze medal, struck in commemoration of the 6th of October, with this legend, "*J'y ferai d'ormais ma demeure habituelle.*" He accompanied this present with the following observations—"Sire; your majesty, at your entrance into Paris, said, '*I intend for the future to make it my chief place of residence.*' The city of Paris has

ⁿ Histories. Also Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 273. Anecdotes, &c. vol. i. p. 197.

* See Historical Sketch of the French Revolution, p. 311.

"caused

“ caused these words to be engraven on the bronze,
 “ as they are already engraven on the hearts of all
 “ our fellow-citizens ^p.”

Bailly was the author of the scheme presented to the assembly for a confederation, when the king and people should take an oath of fidelity to the law not yet promulgated, and to maintain a constitution not yet formed. This pompous absurdity was to be performed the 14th of July, in honor of the anniversary of the capture of the Bastille. The *Champ de Mars* was the place fixed on for the exhibition, but the shortness of the time allowed to make the necessary preparations seemed an insuperable obstacle to its completion: this, however, was conquered by the ardent genius of the French nation; the whole city of Paris, male and female, noble and plebeian, master and servant, turned out into the field, and performed with incredible diligence the necessary labors. The sacred retreat of the convent and monastery was violated with impunity, and nuns and monks, whose vows obliged them to a seclusion with which such an act was incompatible, were forced from their retreats by those who pretended still to respect religion, and who were preparing for one of its most solemn ceremonies. The national guards, the strangers whom curiosity had attracted, every one was employed, and barely two hours before the commencement of the ceremony the preparations were completed. The ceremony is well described by Dr. Moore ⁹.

“ The day of such vast expectation at last arrived; 14th July.
 “ the amphitheatre was formed with an altar in the Descrip-
 “ middle, the throne of the king, a magnificent pa- tion of the
 “ vilion, and commodious seats for the queen and confedera-
 “ royal family, and the triumphal arches through tion.
 “ which the various processions were to pass,
 “ were finished only two hours before the procession
 “ began. At day-break the citizens began to flock

^p Anecdotes, &c. vol. i. p. 201.

⁹ View, vol. ii. p. 138.

"to the amphitheatre, which, it was said, was of
 "sufficient extent to contain above three hundred
 "thousand." (Other authors say four, some six
 "hundred thousand, besides an incredible concourse
 "who crowded the circumjacent hills and eminences,
 "to the extraordinary amount, according to their ac-
 "counts, of three millions of people'.) "On the
 "preceding night, some of the districts had distri-
 "buted tickets of admission to the wives and daugh-
 "ters of the most distinguished or most favored ci-
 "tizens; and no less than four thousand of the na-
 "tional guards were ordered on duty at the field of
 "the confederation. This produced discontent and
 "murmurs. It was said that all the citizens had an
 "equal claim to a place in the amphitheatre; that
 "those who went first had a right to their choice of
 "every place, except such as were destined for the
 "persons in some public office; and the guards ap-
 "pointed on service at the Champ de Mars de-
 "clared, that they would not oppose the entrance
 "of any citizen, whether he had a ticket or not.
 "When these declarations were known, the muni-
 "cipality thought proper to order it to be proclaim-
 "ed in the middle of the night of the thirteenth,
 "that the tickets which had been distributed were
 "entirely useless; which made great numbers resort
 "to the amphitheatre by break of day; and the
 "guards, instead of opposing their entrance, endea-
 "voured to amuse them during the long interval till
 "the ceremony should begin, by military evolutions
 "and dancing the carmagnole on the plain.

"The great procession consisted of a band of mu-
 "sic, a body of national guards, cavalry as well as
 "infantry, led by M. la Fayette, and followed by
 "the electors of the city of Paris—the principal
 "members of the municipality—the deputies to the
 "national assembly—the deputies from one-half of

* See Rabaud's History, p. 188. Pagès, vol. i. p. 335. Miss
 Williams's Letters from Paris in 1790.

" the

“ the departments into which France had been divided—a deputation from the army and fleet, “ headed by two marshals of France—the deputies “ from the other half of the departments—and a “ body of horse and foot belonging to the national “ guards, with a band of music, closed the procession, which was rendered more splendid by the “ banners belonging to the various classes of which “ it was composed, and by the martial airs which “ were played in the intervals between the universal “ exclamation of *Vive la Nation!* which, from time “ to time, pierced the air. The different bodies “ which formed the procession had particular places “ assigned to them. Those for the members of the “ national assembly were to the right and left of the “ king’s throne.

“ Two hundred priests, dressed in garments of “ white linen bound with the national-coloured ribbons, stood on the steps of the altar, which had “ been raised for the purpose of administering the “ oath, for which function the committee of the “ commune appointed the bishop of Autun, a man “ of talents, and one of the most ancient families in “ France, and a zealous promoter of the revolution. “ When he was about to celebrate the mass, which “ preceded the pronunciation of the oath, the sky “ became obscure with clouds; a storm of wind took “ place, and was followed by a deluge of rain. The “ bishop proceeded to the celebration of the mass “ without any regard to the storm; after which he “ pronounced a benediction on the Oriflamme or “ royal standard of France, and on the eighty-three “ banners of the departments which waved around “ it immediately before the altar.

“ The king had been appointed, for that day only, “ supreme and absolute commander of all the national “ guards in France. He named M. de la Fayette “ as his delegate to perform the functions; so that “ la Fayette was for this day not only commander “ in

“ in chief of the national guards of Paris, but high
 “ constable of all the armed men in the kingdom,
 “ which probably was a greater number than ever
 “ had been in any kingdom in the world before.
 “ M. la Fayette, as their representative, took the
 “ oath first. When he left the bottom of the throne
 “ where he had hitherto stood, and moved towards
 “ the altar for that purpose, the trumpets began to
 “ sound ; a vast band of martial music continued to
 “ play while he ascended the steps of the altar. In
 “ the view of the multitude who filled this immense
 “ circus around, he laid the point of his sword upon
 “ the Bible which was on the table of the altar, and
 “ raising his other hand towards the sky, the music
 “ ceased ; an universal stillness ensued ; and he pro-
 “ nounced, ‘ We swear to be ever faithful to the
 “ nation, to the law, and to the king ; to maintain,
 “ to the utmost of our power, the constitution de-
 “ creed by the national assembly, and accepted by
 “ the king.’ The trumpets beginning to sound as
 “ soon as he had finished, were drowned in the ac-
 “ clamation of *Vive la Nation!* All the members of
 “ the national assembly then standing up, the presi-
 “ dent pronounced the oath in his own name and
 “ that of his brethren ; which was, in like manner,
 “ followed by music and acclamation.

“ When the king himself arose, a great body of
 “ the national guards pressed near the throne, which
 “ they surrounded with raised arms, while he re-
 “ peated, *Moi, roi des Français, je jure d’employer*
 “ *tout le pouvoir qui m’est délégué par la loi constitu-*
 “ *tionnelle de l’état, à maintenir la constitution décrétée*
 “ *par l’assemblée nationale et acceptée par moi, et à faire*
 “ *exécuter les lois.* ‘ I, king of the French, swear to
 “ employ all the power that is configned to me by
 “ the constitutional law of the state, in maintaining
 “ the constitution decreed by the national assembly,
 “ and accepted by me, and in enforcing the execu-
 “ tion of the laws.’ A signal being given that the
 “ king

“ king had taken the oath, the air resounded with
 “ alternate peals of artillery and shouts of the peo-
 “ ple ; and thus ended a ceremony, which, notwith-
 “ standing the good intentions of many who took the
 “ oath, has been considered as the grandest and most
 “ extensive act of perjury that heaven and earth was
 “ ever witness to. The rain prevented the king from
 “ leaving the throne and walking to the altar, where
 “ it was expected he would have taken the oath.
 “ This circumstance was afterwards mentioned in
 “ the seditious groups in the Palais Royal, and at
 “ the Jacobin society, as a proof of the king’s aver-
 “ sion to the constitution, and his unwillingness to
 “ take the oath ; but only proves, what a variety of
 “ circumstances indeed demonstrated in the course
 “ of the revolution, that there was a disposition to
 “ calumniate the king, and pervert the most inno-
 “ cent and natural parts of his behaviour into
 “ crimes.” Some of the most petulant spectators
 of the ceremony were so desirous that the oath
 should be taken on the altar, that they applied to
 la Fayette to induce him to repeat it : The answer
 of the general is characteristic of his own levity and
 of that of his hearers ; “ *Mes enfans*, My lads,” said
 he, “ an oath is not an opera song, that it is to be
 “ encored ”.

This great day which had no other object than the excitement of enthusiasm, fortunately, and contrary to all expectation, terminated without mischief.—Bailly gave some umbrage to the captors of the Bastille, or, more probably, they were excited by the agents of Orleans to raise discontent against the mayor ; it was at the period speedily forgot, but it was brought again to light, and made the subject of grievous accusation against him in the day of his adversity¹. He was now at the height of his popula-

¹ Miss Williams’s Letters in 1790.

² See his examination on the trial of the queen, Jordan’s Political State of Europe, vol. v. *ubi sup.*

rity; the Parisians, overjoyed at an exemption from the horrors of famine, and looking up to him as the cause, paid him great marks of respect; they placed transparent paintings of him and la Fayette by the side of the statue of Henry IV.

His name
inscribed
on the pil-
lar at Ge-
non.

In the course of this year, the inhabitants of Genon, a village of Franche Comté, erected on the road side a column, of white stone, which they consecrated to liberty. On the side facing the road which foreigners must pass to arrive at Genon, was this inscription: "Stranger, thou hast touched this land; thou art free." On two of the other sides were inscriptions, the one denoting the time when the column was erected, and by whom; the other designating certain individuals and public bodies as a disgrace to humanity! On the fourth side were inscribed the names of certain popular characters, who were described as the "love and admiration of the French nation;" and of this number was Bailly.

Steps
taken to
destroy his
popularity.

But the return of the duke of Orleans, for which the pageant of the 14th of July had furnished a pretext, occasioned a speedy decline of Bailly's popularity. The versatility of the French character would probably have produced this effect, unaided by any particular circumstances; but Orleans, anxious to have the provisions of the capital again at his disposal, was assiduous in his efforts to remove Bailly, that he might place a creature of his own in the mayoralty*. His character received the first injury in consequence of his granting an order for arresting the deputies from the military insurgents at Nancy, an affair which was much misrepresented by the Jacobins, and caused him to be implicated with Bouillé and Montmorin. These ill impressions were much increased by his exertions against Marat and Hebert,

August.

* Anecdotes, &c. vol. vi. p. 339.

* Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 203.

BAILLY.

in which he displayed rashness and self-sufficiency, without either courage, address, or perseverance¹.

The club Breton, of which he was a member, had, since the removal of the national assembly from Versailles to Paris, assumed the title of Jacobin, and was disgraced by so promiscuous an accession, that many of the most respectable members seceded, and formed the club of the Friends of Monarchy, his activity in the suppression of which has been already mentioned. But when, after the return of the duke of Orleans, the tribunes were constantly filled with his creatures, whose clamours decided every question, he was himself obliged to give up his seat, and formed one of a society called the Club of 1789, more select indeed than the Jacobins, but professing nearly the same principles. It became afterwards obnoxious to the violent party, and Bailly, through fear of risking his popularity and safety, only twice attended their meetings².

Before the establishment of this latter club, the favorites of the Jacobin society had made a considerable progress in vilifying his character, and representing him as the devoted slave of aristocracy. His influence had already so much declined, that his remonstrances with the mob to permit the departure of the royal family to Saint Cloud, were treated with disregard, and his person with contempt³.

It was probably his interference in this affair that gave rise to the assertion that he was privy and accessory to the king's escape: A malignant accusation, amply contradicted and disproved by his own evidence, by the testimony of the queen, and by the

Secedes
from the
Jacobin
club.

1791.
18th April.
Exerts
himself in
favor of
the royal
family.

18th, 21st
June.
Supposed
privy in
the king's
escape.

¹ The Conduct of France towards Great Britain Examined; by Miles, p. 227. Conjuratien de d'Orleans.

² See Historical Sketch, p. 310. and Bailly's examination on the trial of the queen; Jordan's Political State of Europe, vol. v. p. 168.

³ Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 234.; Impartial History, vol. i. 407. &c.

17th July.
Proclaims
martial
law.

facts mentioned in his Memoir, preserved by Pagès^b. But this accusation was not brought forward till some time after the fact^c. His popularity received its mortal wound when he read the proclamation in the *Champ de Mars*, which authorized the soldiers to fire on the people: this ruined him in the eyes of the factious Parisians, and turned all their esteem and friendship into disgust. He had now discovered the folly and error of giving to the people, numerically, too great a share in the conduct of government; too great a power of revision, censure, and degradation of the executive branches; and was desirous to carry his weight over to the other side of the question; but his weight was gone. The *beautiful day* he had so zealously admired, had changed the hearts of the people, and in endeavouring to bring them back to a sense of loyalty and respect for the laws, he not only preached to the winds, but drew the storm on his own head. Insignificant, degraded, and despised, he continued in the mayoralty till the dissolution of the constituent assembly; and then, la Fayette having resigned the command of the national guard, he resigned his office, but in retiring he conferred a signal service on the capital by preventing the designs of Pétion, his Jacobin successor, to revive the horrors of famine^d.

29th Nov.
Resigns.

Lives in
retirement.

From the period of his resignation he lived in a state of privacy for near two years, pursuing his literary and philosophical researches, and never interfering in politics, except by his attendance at the Feuillans, which club was soon dispersed by the violence of the Jacobins; and never soliciting public notice except when he was called on to answer some inculpation, as, for instance, that of being accessory

^b See Trial of the Queen, *ubi sup.*; Pagès, vol. i. p. 418.; and Appendix, No. IV.

^c The first trace I find of this accusation is his letter to the convention, 15th December 1793.

^d See the Histories; also Conjuración de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 152.

to the king's flight, and an absurd denunciation by Fauchet, for permitting cartridges to be issued inscribed with his name as mayor, after his retreat from office; but this malevolent accusation was not sanctioned even by the Jacobin party^e. 28th Jan.

But even the unobtrusive conduct of Bailly did not secure his immunity. The republicans could not forgive; the massacre of the *Champ de Mars* was indelibly fixed in their memory, and vengeance frequently demanded on the head of Bailly. At length Chaumette denounced him to the *commune*; he was snatched from his retreat, and cast into the prison of the Conciergerie. He bore his fate with singular fortitude and even gaiety. Well acquainted with the ferocity of his judges, and their contempt of forms, he never indulged a delusive hope of acquittal, and therefore never permitted his spirits to sink into abjectness, or flutter with unavailing agitation. He was cited before the revolutionary tribunal as a witness on the trial of the queen, and delivered his testimony in a manner which does him honor^f. His examination was so conducted that a casual inspection would lead the reader to suppose he was the culprit, and not the witness. On his return to the Conciergerie, which he did not expect, as he had supposed that his own trial was coming on, he rubbed his hands, and said to his companions with a smile, "*Petit bon-homme vit encore.*—The little good man's alive yet." He then employed himself in composing the *memoire* relative to his examination, which Pagès informs us no bookseller dared to expose, or hawker to vend, and which, for the curious illustrative matter it contains, I have given in the Appendix^g. 1792. Is committed to prison. His fortitude. Examined as a witness on the queen's trial. Composes his Memoir.

At length he was condemned to death, and his execution was attended with peculiar circumstances 11th Nov. 1793.

Executed, after great insults and cruelties.

^e Debates.

^f Trial of the queen, *ubi sup.*

^g *Histoire Secrete de la Revolution*, vol. i. p. 419.

of barbarity. He was put in a cart with his hands tied behind his back, and drawn slowly towards the *Champ de Mars*, where the guillotine was erected expressly for him. In the cart was placed a red flag; the day was rainy, and during a long and slow progress, this unfortunate man experienced every insult a wanton mob could inflict. They spit on him, pelted him with mud, struck him, tore off pieces of the flag, and having drenched them in mud, dabbed them in his face. On his arrival at the *Champ de Mars*, they forced him to get out of the cart, and walk round the field, overwhelmed with insults and cruel derisions; they next compelled him to set fire to a pile on which the red flag was burned, and while it was consuming, plunged his head in the smoke. The guillotine was taken to pieces and removed to a dung-heap near the river, and though the unfortunate sufferer was old and feeble, the pieces were piled on his back; but his exhausted frame not permitting the effort of carrying them, he fell under the burden, and must have perished in the mire, had he not been relieved. His presence of mind never forsook him during these severe trials; he saw the guillotine erecting, and heard the abuse of the populace without emotion. One of them, intending to aggravate his miseries, exclaimed, "You tremble, Bailly."—" 'Tis with cold, then," "my friend," answered he with unruffled serenity. At last the executioner released him from his agonies. Bailly fell a victim to that licentiousness and depravity which he himself had contributed to excite by teaching the people that the conquest of a virtuous, beneficent, and unresisting monarch was a subject of exultation, and that the 6th of October 1789 was a *beautiful day*^a.

^a See *Memoires d'une Detenu*, p. 53.; *Tableau des Prisons sous Robespierre*; *Miss Williams's Letters in 1794*, vol. i. p. 240; *Pages*, vol. i. p. 419.

The character of Bailly, though not entitled to ^{His character;} applause, does not deserve unqualified censure. He displayed great treachery in the manner of acting the Tennis-Court scene, and behaved with wanton barbarity and upstart insolence towards the royal family: Even when he was aiming to repress the licentiousness of the mob, he made a weak attempt to obtain popularity by posting a placard that the riots of the *Champ de Mars* were excited by the aristocrats¹. He was so inflamed with the spirit of persecution which actuated the philosophers against priests, that he made slight opposition to the disgraceful insults offered by the populace to well-meaning and unoffending women, and even declared, that if it depended on him, the Catholic religion should be annihilated in France². His resolute exertions to supply the capital with bread demonstrate that he would have been useful, had he confined himself to his proper sphere. He retired from office impoverished by the loss of his pension, and without an adequate provision; a fact which proves his integrity and disinterestedness. Indeed from the whole tenor of his conduct, it appears that he supposed himself to be labouring for a laudable end, though he was culpably careless about the means, and often misled by his vanity, which was counterbalanced only by a small share of judgment. His *History of Astronomy* is highly commended; he also wrote *Letters on ancient and modern Astronomy*; ^{and publications.} *A Report on Mesmerism*; *A Memoir on the Hospital called the Hotel Dieu*; and was the supposed author of a pamphlet called *Luxury is the Scourge of the State*³.

¹ *Mercure Politique* du 18 Fev^r 1793.

² Barruel's *History of the Clergy*, part i. p. 72. 113.

³ *Anecdotes, &c.* vol. vi. p. 231.

BENOIT.

IN the present and the following sketches, I purpose to describe the state of the prisoners in Paris during the tyranny of Robespierre. I have chosen for subjects to introduce the narration, two men decidedly opposite in character and principle, though of the same name; the one keeper of the palace of the *Luxembourg*, at that period converted into a prison; the other gaoler, first of the *Luxembourg*, afterwards of the *Carmes*. In describing the treatment of the prisoners, every circumstance or anecdote does not literally apply to the *Luxembourg* or to the *Carmes*; but the identity of name and contrast of character in these two gaolers, afford an opportunity of displaying, in one point of view, the best and worst periods of detention; and spare the necessity of again recurring to so disagreeable a topic^m.

^m The authorities I have consulted are contained in four small duodecimo volumes, containing a variety of tracts relating to this subject, intitled "Tableau des Prisons sous Robespierre." Of these some are anonymous, some avowed, particularly a number of facts collected by Réal, and "Mémoires d'un Detenu, par Honoré Riouffe." Miss Williams's Letters of 1794, of which I have also availed myself, are principally compiled from these publications; all her Anecdotes of persons in the various prisons are merely translated; and in her accounts of Brissot and his co-adjutors, and the general turn of her political narrations and reflexions, she has implicitly followed those who came into power immediately after the fall of Robespierre, particularly the writers above mentioned, Louvet and Fréron. I have also derived information from Montjoye's "Conjuration de Robespierre," "Les Crimes de Robespierre & de ses Principaux Complices," "L'Etat de la France," and "Suite de l'Etat de la France, par M. le Comte de Montgaillard," "Tench's Correspondence." And "A Residence in France," edited by J. Gifford.

Benoit was a native of the village of Chamberlen, in the county of Neufchatel in Switzerland; by religion a protestant. Before the revolution he held the post of concierge, or keeper of the palace of the Luxembourg, and after that era continued for some time in the same office. He was upwards of seventy years old; and his generous and soothing attentions, his efforts to soften the lot and dissipate the chagrin of those whom the tyranny of the times consigned to his charge, procured him the appellation of *le bon Benoit*. Under his superintendance the prisoners passed, according to the circumstances which regulated the decrees of the day, the golden, silver, and brazen ages of their captivity; they experienced the iron age under the dominion of his name-sake and his compeers.

Account
of Benoit;

The Luxembourg was, at first, used as a prison for the deputies of the convention accused of federalism; but after passing the law which ordained the arrestation of ex-nobles, the relations of emigrants, &c. it became a place of detention; at first for the superior order of suspected persons, afterwards for them and *sans-culottes* indiscriminately. A great party of the English were also confined there.

his huma-
nity; and
state of the
prisoners.

The first night of their arrival the prisoners were obliged to accommodate themselves as they could. They had no beds; the ladies stretched their tender limbs on the rough floor, covered only with cloaks, great-coats, and such conveniences as could be immediately procured; while the gentlemen nodded in chairs, or lay down on the bare boards. Afterwards they were provided, by order of the legislature, with a flock bed, mattresses, and bolster.

The humane Benoit abated much of the disagreeableness of their situation by his judicious mode of distributing the prisoners into apartments, which he did with a feeling regard to age, station in life, country, and even casual prepossession. The prisoners, thus associated, soon formed such regulations

as enabled them to be cleanly without interference or compulsion, and prevented those who were most unruly from disturbing the others.

The morning was devoted to such business as the nature of their situation required. The prisoners swept the rooms, made the beds, and performed other domestic duties. These occupations, if they provoked regret when compared with the elegance of preceding years, were yet of use in dispelling *ennui*, and giving some energy to action. At first, the prisoners were permitted, according to their circumstances, to order dinners from their own hotels, or from the tavern; those whose penury did not afford such gratification, were fed gratuitously by their more opulent associates. In the afternoon, they received the visits of their friends and relations; not in their own apartments, but in a common room, where, as the disposition of the parties or their external connexions led them, they formed lively or solemn groups; some repeating with the loud laugh and airy gesticulation of thoughtless hilarity, the jocular petulancies which their situation excited, and "*making villainous jests at their own undoing.*" Some indulged the transporting sensations arising from the punctual display of matrimonial, filial, and fraternal affection; consecrating by experience the maxims of genuine philosophy, and displaying the calm fortitude of minds unruffled by guilt. Others, giving way to more gloomy thoughts, lamented, in pathetic terms, their lost honours, dismantled castles, plundered coffers; regretted the divulsion of the matrimonial tie, recently knit, and its felicities in their most captivating and impressive æra. Parties were made for the evening, at which, as the inclination of the company prevailed, tea, cards, extempore composition; scandal, music, or gallantry, beguiled the passing hour. Gallantry gained so strong ground at the Luxembourg, as to make that prison the talk of Paris; the French writer in describing it says,

says, "*L'amour avait le plus de part dans le choix des sociétés. Les Anglaises, moins vives, mais aussi tendres que les Françaises, se rangèrent à leur tour sous les drapeaux de la galanterie.*" This circumstance drew on them the reproaches of the administrators of the *commune* in terms too gross for repetition. The visits of these administrators, ordinarily selected from the dregs of the people, and characterised by the vulgar insolence, the filth, the language, and the sentiments of Cordeliers, was the great source of terror to the prisoners during the first short period of their captivity, which may be termed their *Golden Age*.

The increasing number of prisoners, which, Miss Williams says, a single week augmented from one hundred to a thousand^a, produced regulations not favourable to the comforts of the parties. Benoit continued his benevolent regulations in point of association, and the amusements of the evening were still permitted; but the number of *sans-culottes* was much increased, and became burdensome; the visits of the administrators became more frequent, their manners more haughty, and their commands more capricious. Sometimes, from a pretended love of equality, they would order a total change of apartments; sometimes a perfect equalization of diet; with several other vexatious restrictions which the forbearance of the poorer prisoners, who were called *pailleux*, or straw-lodgers, could with difficulty prevent from being carried into execution. A still more afflicting regulation was that which prevented the access of persons out of doors.

This destroyed many hopes and many sensations of pleasure; but still they occasionally presented themselves in the gardens; and looks and attitudes conveyed those sentiments which the parties were forbidden to utter. Still the journals of the day were

^a Vol. i. p. 22.

allowed;

allowed; and the prisoners still enjoyed the liberty of purchasing or procuring such provisions as they liked; and the liberalities of their friends were faithfully conveyed to them. On the whole, this period might be called their *Silver Age*.

The progress of the revolutionary government brought with it additional rigours and disquietudes. The prisons became crowded with spies, who rendered society suspicious and unsafe, threw danger into the innoxious meetings of the evening, which tended to their suppression; and, during the day, behaved to the ex-nobles, the aged, and the priests, with such turbulent violence, as to render their retreat into their own rooms the only means of avoiding rudeness and personal injury. All communication from without was forbid; the confined were no longer permitted to look through the windows towards the gardens to receive the distant salutations of their friends; they could neither write nor receive letters but under the inspection of officers appointed for that purpose; they were forbid to communicate with each other except in public; and the privilege of sending to a tavern, or to their own houses for victuals, was refused them. A *traiteur* was established in the house, who sold, at an enormous price, adulterated wine, bad meat, and garden-stuff which famine could not tempt or compel a person to touch. A law was at length made, by which the administrators of the police were directed to take from the suspected prisoners, all goods of a certain description; as knives, razors, scissars, and in general, every thing metallic; and all money and assignats, amounting in value to upwards of fifty livres (2 l. 3 s. 9 d.). This order produced a search which was conducted in a manner disgusting to the male, and insupportable to the female prisoners; and in which rapacity, immodesty, and the coarsest brutality were combined. This privation took from the captives the pleasure of assisting the *pailleux*, and enforcing their good

good behaviour by acts of munificence. It took from the rich the satisfaction they had often enjoyed of aiding those who had been confined, and whose innocence was at length acknowledged, in re-establishing themselves in the world, and carrying home happiness and ease to their desponding families. The prisoners now trembled for their fate, and dreaded another second of September. Every day some new severities were announced, or some new mortifications to be endured. Wilcheritz, the administrator, who had presided at the robbery, called a visitation, added, by his mysteriousness, to their terrors. When they inquired at what time their property would be restored, he answered, "When there is a peace." When they requested of him to let them have the journals to know the state of public affairs, "Patience;" he would cry; "Justice is just; this duration will not endure; patience." One extraordinary circumstance attended this privation of property, namely, that the mechanics were permitted to have their tools to work with all day; and the barbers their razors to shave the prisoners, on condition that they restored them to the turnkey at night. The promise that the money should be restored to the owners was never meant to be performed, as there was no inventory made, or any acknowledgment of the sums which had been taken away; and most of the persons plundered were intended to be guillotined without delay.

* WILCHERITZ was a Pole by birth, and cobbler by trade; made, during the reign of Robespierre, an administrator of police; in which employ he exercised, at the prison of the Luxembourg, the most insatiate rapacity, accompanied with the utmost aggravations of plebeian insolence. He robbed, insulted, and threatened the prisoners without mercy or reserve, taking from them their money, jewels, cutlery, and every thing made of metal, even large pins. He made himself as ridiculous by his ignorance and ostentation, as he was detestable for his conduct in other particulars. He fell with his patron, being guillotined soon after the 28th of July 1794, as an accomplice of Robespierre.

A short

Benoit's
removal.

A short time before this visitation, Benoit, the tutelary angel of the prisoners, was removed. A man named Lenain, immensely rich, who was confined in the Luxembourg, had married his daughter to the son of one of the *si-devant gardes-du-corps*. An ex-noble having, when at the point of death, given to Lenain a power of receiving a sum of money due to him, Lenain expressed a desire to transmit the instrument to his son-in-law; and for that purpose gave it to Benoit, and took his written receipt. Benoit, as his duty required, immediately sent notice of the transaction to the public accuser; and Lenain, hoping to obtain his liberty by the ruin of the worthy gaoler, sent his receipt to the committee of public safety, who immediately issued a warrant for apprehending him. He was carried away to another gaol, and seals put on his effects. His family took an affecting farewell of the prisoners, to whom they were deservedly dear; and whose regret at his loss was daily and hourly excited by the brutality of his successor. His innocence was manifested on his trial before the revolutionary tribunal; but as the goodness of his heart was a perpetual libel on those in power, he was not restored to his office till after the death of Robespierre; when the united testimony of numberless prisoners procured him that respect which is due to virtue in every station, but more particularly when displayed at great personal risk, and in an occupation where the contrary is so frequently found as to be generally expected.

PIERRE-GUILLAUME BENOIT.

THIS man had been an executioner under Collet d'Herbois, at Lyons, and, in that execrable employ, acquitted himself so much to the satisfaction of his patron, that, soon after the dismissal of the good Benoit, he was appointed keeper of the Luxembourg, to which office he superadded those of spy and informer. It is less the object of this essay to display the individual actions of this miscreant, than the sufferings and general state of the prisoners during *the Iron Age*, an æra in which he was a distinguished actor. Although some of the descriptions are taken from particular prisons; yet, divested of their localities, they apply in general to all the gaols at Paris during the plenitude of Robespierre's power. A prisoner whose fetters were knocked off by the revolution of the 28th of July 1794, says, "In all the prisons where I have been confined I have always observed the same abuses, always experienced the same uneasiness, the same constraint. It is hardly possible to conceive an adequate idea of the hard-heartedness and apathy of the gaolers, the grinding rapacity of the attendants and servants, the treacherous observancy of the spies, the repeated oppositions to the most trifling requests, and the continual subjection to a minute and unprofitable vigilance. No communication out of doors, no news public or private; kept in ignorance even of the successes of

Account
of Benoit.

General
remarks on
the pri-
sons.

" the .

“ the arms of our country, and even of the existence of those most near and dear to us by consanguinity and attachment. Not a word of peace or consolation within ; insulted, threatened, without cause, by administrators intoxicated with wine and pride ; subjected to their caprices, and to those of their creatures, the gaolers ; transferred from place to place to humour the whims of any of them ; dragged from prison to prison, amidst the hootings and invectives of a deluded mob ; no relief for the indigent, either in the most necessary articles of clothing, or in medicines if they happened to be ill.”

Number of
prisoners.

The activity of the agents of tyranny tended in a most astonishing manner to populate these abodes of despair. From every corner of France victims were daily sent to the Conciergerie. It was filled by the activity of the missionaries in the departments, and the administrators in Paris, and emptied by the massacre of its unfortunate tenants, or their transfer into other houses of confinement. To this place women without number were brought, without respect to their sex or to the state of pregnancy, for which the most sanguinary savages generally retain some sympathy. They were brought in loaded with fetters, and sometimes even with a collar of iron about their necks, fatigued, astonished, and dispirited. Some fainted at the sight of their dungeon, and were carried in the arms of brutal turnkeys, who laughed at their condition ; some were dissolved in unavailing tears, some frozen into a state of torpid stupefaction, the harbinger of madness.

The Con-
ciergerie.

The Conciergerie, during the old government, was a prison for the worst malefactors ; with whom it was shared, under the revolutionary government, by those who were arrested as suspected, or had been condemned by the dreadful tribunal, and were awaiting the execution of their sentence. Its cells are subterraneous ; over them are shops and walks where

where the gaiety and profusion of all comers mark in strong colours the contrasted woes and penury of the unfortunate prisoners. Four wickets, at small distances from each other, secured the entrance to this horrible prison, each guarded by wretches taken from the dregs of vulgar brutality; disgusting from vice, filth, and inebriety, and speaking a language peculiar to their occupation, in English called *slang*. Between the two first doors the prisoner was introduced to the turnkey, who, attended by some myrmidons, examined his features, gave orders for his reception, and passed him on through the other wickets. The place in which prisoners were at first lodged, was called the *souricière*, or mouse-trap, a dungeon impervious to the rays of the sun, and exhaling an infectious odour, from the accumulated filth of persons who had previously occupied it. The straw provided for a bed, was rotten with damp and filth, and the rats ate the shoes, the clothes, and even the flesh of the unhappy tenant. In this infernal abode they were sometimes left for thirty-six or forty-eight hours, without relief, without communication, and without food. They were afterwards transferred to some other chamber, or to a different prison. The distinction of apartments in the Conciergerie was made by the terms *à la pistolet*, in the straw, or in the dungeons. The first set were denominated from the monthly price paid for a wretched bed; the others were only distinguished from each other by this, that those in the straw were turned out of their apartments between eight and nine in the morning, and not permitted to re-enter them till about an hour before sun-set, while those in the dungeons were confined all day. The accumulation of prisoners was alike in all; the increasing rigor of the revolutionary government caused arrestations so numerous, that many persons could not find room in the cells, and were obliged to take up their abode in the galleries. The whole prison,

prison, from crowd, dirt, want of air, and other incommunities, was so unwholesome, that the confined fell ill and died in such quantities as to exceed credibility.

Rapacity
of the
gaolers.

If they had the good fortune to be conveyed to another prison, they altered their state somewhat, but not much, for the better. At their arrival, the gaoler asked them in a rough voice, "Have you got any *belles*?" a cant word for *money*. If answered in the affirmative, he provided a small cistern for water, a mug, and two or three cracked plates, for which he exacted three times their original cost. If the prisoner had no money, he was told, "So much the worse for you, Citizen, you'll get nothing for nothing here." He was in that case obliged to part with any thing of value which he possessed at a price extremely reduced, to pay for the trifles above-mentioned, at an exorbitant rate. For example, a person gave a gold ring which cost a hundred crowns (12*l.* 10*s.*) for twenty-five livres, (1*l.* 1*s.* 10½*d.*) which barely paid for the necessaries furnished by the rapacious gaoler; and this was only before the law took place authorizing their search and robbery; after that every thing they had was taken from them. A place was then allotted, perhaps in a room already full, but the prisoner was told for his consolation, that a flock-bed might be placed any where.

Division of
the day.

The day was thus divided: one hour at table, for they had but one meal, three hours of recreation, and twenty close confinement.

Their
viands.

This meal, instead of being a pleasure, was merely of use to prolong a wretched and precarious existence. The introduction of any food from without was strictly forbid; a table was established in the prison, at which the confined fed *a la gamelle*, catch as catch can; about a hundred plates were set at a table covered with three dishes; the prisoners, deprived of their knives and forks, were obliged to tear the meat with their fingers, and their whole sustenance

sustenance for the remainder of the day was so much as they could reserve from this scanty and disgusting meal, a little bread and water. The legislature allowed to each individual but fifty sols a-day for food, which, according to the price of provisions in Paris, afforded a miserable subsistence, and was rendered still worse by the rapacity of the *traiteurs*. In some of the prisons they gave half a bottle of adulterated wine, a dish of French beans stewed in stinking grease or tallow, a salt herring, rotten and worm-eaten; in some a little putrescent meat, and vegetables full of dirt, hair, and worms. Two persons, who since the fall of Robespierre have written narratives of their Imprisonment, have not scrupled to aver, what certainly ought to be repeated with diffidence, and the utmost caution employed before it gains credit, *that the sacrifices of the guillotine supplied the repast of the prisoners*. This assertion is corroborated by one of these authors, by an express and pointed statement, that when a suspicion of the fact was mentioned to Hali, the keeper of the prison *Dupleix*, he laughed extravagantly, and called it a dish of *ci-devant*!! All narrators agree, that during this period their bread was abominable, their wine adulterated, their meat and fish full of maggots, and their garden-stuff bad of its kind, ill dressed, and full of dirt. To complain was not only useless but dangerous; a murmur produced ill usage, threats of closer confinement, or of a transfer to a worse prison: if the complainants were numerous, they were denounced to the administrators as having formed a conspiracy; and a youth of sixteen is actually said to have been sent to the guillotine as a conspirator, for having petulantly expressed dissatisfaction that his salt herring was rotten and full of worms. Even before the strict regulation took place, which prevented the introduction of provisions from without, they were far from comfortable; if they sent to a tavern for a fricassée, the turnkeys would take up a

leg or a wing, and if the bearer remonstrated that the piece would be missed, sometimes contented themselves with sucking off the sauce, and dipping their fingers in what remained in the dish; facts which they took no pains to conceal from the prisoner. The fruit which was sent by their friends, or which they contrived to purchase at almost its weight in gold, passed through the hands of those harpies, who never failed to diminish the quantity, without fear of reproach or even of remonstrance.

Treatment
of the sick.

This treatment produced a general state of ill-health; most of the prisons were crowded with sick; some of them had no infirmary, and in them the case of the prisoners was truly dreadful; they could not, without great expence and an express application to the committee of public safety, attended with much delay, obtain a physician; and the most ordinary drugs were not procured without similar expence and delay. All this while the patient lay on his bed of straw in a crowded room, exhaling pestilence, and without succour. Where there was an infirmary, or in the national hospital, the fate of the sick was not much ameliorated: the hospital differed nominally rather than really from a prison; the walls were bare and damp, the windows small, and the bars so thick and so traversed as to exclude the air. The patients, without regard to the difference of their complaints, were placed two in a bed. The physicians, chosen not on account of their knowledge, but on a certificate from their section that they were genuine *sans-culottes*, administered their panacea, the *tisane*, barley water, without variation or considering of the cause or state of the disorder. When the want of drugs was represented to one of the administrators; "Well, well," he answered, "we shall have some of the apothecaries guillotined soon, and then you will have plenty." Death made the most frightful ravages, his victims were numerous beyond calculation: it is hardly necessary to suppose,

as one narrator has done, and supported it with some cogent instances, arising within his own observation, that it was part of the system of the day to get rid of great numbers of the prisoners by *poison*; the regimen above described carries in itself certain and almost inevitable destruction, without the necessity of recurring to laudanum or aconite.

The following extract from Montgaillard^p, gives an account of the general situation of the prisoners, which cannot be perused without sentiments of abhorrence. "For these four months the prisoners
 " have been forbid all communication with man-
 " kind. They experience the most barbarous treat-
 " ment, and the coarse food now allowed, and the
 " privation of which is often threatened, is examined
 " by commissioners from the committee of public
 " safety, and thrown in through openings which
 " are afterwards carefully shut. Women with child
 " have died in the English convent, now a prison,
 " in the *rue des Fossés St. Victor*, in the Luxem-
 " bourg, and in the *grand Carmes*, for want of the
 " relief necessary in their condition. *'Tis so much*
 " *trouble saved to the executioner*, said Billaud Va-
 " rennes, when he was asked to order a physician
 " for the prisons. In one single chamber forty per-
 " sons are confined. Many have petitioned the
 " committee of public safety and the public accuser
 " of the revolutionary tribunal to send them to the
 " scaffold. Couthon wrote the following answer
 " on one of these petitions. *Woman, (citoyenne),*
 " *you have not yet been long enough in a situation that*
 " *makes you wish for death.*"

Barbarity
of govern-
ment.

Their sources of consolation were few and subject to many interruptions. In one prison they used to meet in the evening in a common-room, and sit at a long table; the ladies amused themselves with works appropriate to their sex; every one brought a light,

Amuse-
ments of
the pri-
soners.

^p Suite de l'État de la France, p. 67.

some of the gentlemen read, some painted, but a profound silence was usually observed. After supper, till nine o'clock, they amused themselves with the recitation of poetry, composed by the prisoners, with songs and music. The increase of numbers, additional severities, and the daily murder of some of their companions, occasionally embittered their meetings; yet they still continued to amuse themselves, in spite of privations, dangers, and terrors. Frequent repetition rendered them almost indifferent even to the loss of their companions. A person who had been fifteen months confined in the Conciergerie, informed major Tench, that during that time he saw one hundred and sixty-seven persons go out of his room to the guillotine. He described almost all these victims as so conscious of their innocence, and so reconciled to their fate, that nothing but resignation, indifference, and levity prevailed throughout the prison. It was customary to warn on the preceding evening those who were to be tried the next day; and by a regulation made among themselves, the party to be tried gave a supper on that night to the whole room; and if he was spared for the present and remanded back, he was in return treated with a dinner at their joint expence. The dinner entertainments were few indeed; but the suppers extremely frequent¹.

In another prison where the confinement was closer, they amused themselves at midnight by the light of one single taper, with a mock representation of the revolutionary tribunal: some represented judges, some the jury; they had a public accuser; the culprits were found guilty of course, and guillotined by a contrivance of one of their beds. The public accuser himself was at last deposed, tried, and executed; he rose from the dead, related the horrible punishments which he suffered in the other

¹ Tench's Correspondence, Letter vii. p. 109.

world, and which awaited the judges and jurors. Those *au secret* (in close confinement) contrived to hold a club by a circuitous communication from cell to cell, finding means, notwithstanding the thickness of the walls, to be heard from one dungeon to the other. The disclosure of news was forbid, but now and then a more humane gaoler or guard would in a whisper communicate some public event, the knowledge of which might be supposed agreeable to his hearers: this was reported again with caution, in ambiguous terms, such as, *I dreamt so and so*; and when it was so public that it might be mentioned without suspicion, they celebrated it in poetic compositions, songs, &c. Such were, the re-conquest of Toulon, the successes of the armies in general, and the feast in honor of the Supreme Being, from which the prisoners formed the most flattering hopes.

These enjoyments solely counterbalanced a life embittered with daily increasing cruelty. They were surrounded with spies, who endeavoured by acts of the most brutal insolence to force them to complain; and if they did not succeed, invented circumstances they could not occasion, rather than fail in gratifying their employers. This rendered communication insecure, and added a terrible restraint to those under which they already laboured. The language of their gaolers often led them to dread another massacre like that of September 1792, and harassed them by continual fears; which were reinforced by the excavations made in yards of most of the prisons at the same period. The gaolers pretended they were meant for sels-pools; but the prisoners feared they were designed for their graves.

Strictness
of the spies.

When they retired to their cells, by virtue of the compulsory edict for their separation, their miseries were not terminated; the only cries in the streets which were permitted near the walls, were those calculated to inspire horror. In the night a fiend of

Horrors of
the night.

a woman, with a piercing voice, would cry, "A list of the fifty or threescore persons who drew prizes to-day in the lottery of the guillotine." If the butchery had been less numerous, she would say, "A list of the twenty or five-and-twenty aristocrats who were guillotined to-day; I hope the number will be greater to-morrow." Sometimes in the middle of the night the bell was rung, and all the prisoners summoned into the yard, where administrators, by torch-light, attended by guards, waited with a list of persons to be carried in carts to other prisons for detention, or to the Conciergerie, till they should be tried. These transfers were effected with the utmost brutality; age, sex, or situation procured no compassion. A lady near her time of lying-in, terrified by the bell, from her ignorance of the cause of its ringing, was seized with the pangs of child-birth. She was compelled to descend to the yard; her name was on the list; in vain she intreated and remonstrated; two soldiers dragged her towards the cart, till her increasing agonies at length compelled them to place her in the first room they could find, where she was prematurely delivered without attendance or assistance.

Delivery of
the acts of
accusation.

These were not the only means contrived to "murder sleep." By a diabolical mockery of justice, the acts of accusation were delivered late in the night before the day of trial. A fellow hawked them about the prison with a loud voice, calling them, in barbarous pleasantry, *the Evening Post*. This noise disturbed all the prisoners, and made some hundreds partake of the misery intended, perhaps, for only ten or a dozen. Those to whom they were delivered sometimes could not read them for want of light; and if they could, it would have availed them but little; they were generally the same in substance; the crime alledged and the witnesses the same. They were made out by the inferior

rior agents of Fouquier Tainville, written in a hand scarcely legible, and misspelled. The petulance of these wretches often indicated the fate of the person to be accused by some jocular expression, as, *Let us send this woman to her beloved spouse*; and at the top of one of the acts of accusation was written, "*A head to be chopped off without mercy.*" The change of the abode of prisoners, made capriciously and unrecorded, often rendered the delivery of these acts matter of difficulty; but the impatience of the messengers, and the promptitude of the revolutionary system, obviated delay. If the person designated was not to be found, some one whose name approached to his in sound, or who had had some relation or connexion with him, supplied his place. It was vain to remonstrate, the answer was ready; "We were ordered to take ten, twelve, or fifteen persons from this house, and will not go away without our number; you may as well take this act of accusation as not, for you certainly must have one sooner or later."

Towards the latter end of July 1794, every thing indicated that greater severities and a more rapid evacuation of the prisons was in contemplation. The reports of conspiracies were more frequent, the spies

Increasing
alarms.

COURLET VERMANTOIS was son of a counsellor of parliament at Dijon, and afterwards an officer in the army. He fell a victim to the irregular proceedings of the revolutionary tribunal a day before the death of Robespierre. He was a prisoner in the prison *Duplessis*; when in one of Fouquier Tainville's lists, the name of Vermantois, canon of Chartres, was included; no person of that name being found but himself, he was taken; and in spite of his remonstrances that he was a soldier, and not a priest, and knew nothing of the facts alledged in the act of accusation, he was condemned by that execrable court, and executed the 27th July 1794. Such mistakes were not uncommon. A lady of the name of MAILLET was brought before the tribunal with an act of accusation meant for a person of the name of *Maille*. She informed the judges of the fact; but the public accuser told her it was of no consequence, she would have been brought to the scaffold very shortly at any rate; that one day was as good as another; the jury declared themselves sufficiently instructed, and the woman was executed!!

more numerous, the turnkeys more ferocious. The prisoners were almost entirely prevented from communicating with each other. During the short period they were permitted to take the air in the yard, men employed on purpose traversed it diagonally; and if they saw two or three conversing, rudely separated them, asking if they were forming a conspiracy?

Fall of Robespierre;

The revolution of the 28th of July, though not immediately communicated to them in direct terms, produced effects perceptibly beneficial. While the issue of the contest between Robespierre and his opponents was uncertain, the prisoners were obliged to separate at an earlier hour than usual, and were carefully locked up. When the contest was decided, the jailors were in doubt whether the system of terror would not still be continued. They took great pains to conceal the transactions without. Alarm and terror were inspired by the ringing of the tocsin and the firing of guns. The news was diversely communicated. In one prison they heard it through the intrepidity of a boy who hawked papers about the streets; he approached the walls, crying with a loud voice, "The glorious arrestation and execution of Catiline Robespierre and his accomplices:" when the guard attempted to drive him away, he remonstrated sturdily, that there were many good citizens in custody who would be glad to hear the news, and they should hear it. The words of the hawker were caught up by some who contrived to communicate them, and the transport soon became general. In another gaol, one of the guards, who was employed to break the knots of prisoners assembled in the yard, contrived, as he was walking, to utter a word or two now and then which communicated the intelligence; and the hearers were diligent in making it known to their comrades. The turnkey was so enraged at the discovery of this

how communicated;

fact,

fact, that he would not suffer the guards to come into the prison, but employed dogs in their stead'.

The reign of these tyrants, however, drew to its effects. towards an end. The convention declared that they intended to abolish the system of terror; the gaolers, feeling that their power was declining, and dreading the punishment due to their past barbarity, paid court to the prisoners by voluntarily relaxing many of their severities, and permitting the introduction of victuals, clothes, letters, and even visitors. Then came to light the numerous devices invented by ingenious affection to elude the severity of the law and the vigilance of the turnkeys; sometimes in the inside of a fowl, or in a bundle of asparagus, while victuals were permitted to be sent; sometimes in the folds, or even the hems of clean linen, a dexterous hand contrived to convey the effusion of a tender and faithful heart. In one of the prisons a dog daily rushed in to kiss the hand of his confined master, and carried under his collar the affectionate remembrances of an anxious wife. Sometimes pieces of paper, dirty, and apparently unimportant, when joined together, contained an interesting diary, tender condolences, or affectionate protestations. Soon these efforts of courageous tenderness were rewarded by the examination of warrants and discharge of prisoners, which restored happiness to thousands. What, upon inspection, were the crimes which authorised a confinement so rigorous, a death so tragical? Some of the prisoners *had been* nobles, some *had been* priests, bankers, farmers-general; some were rich, some learned, some brave; these were all *aristocrats*. Some had given offence to the tyrant or his satraps; these were *suspected*; and some were confined without cause and without warrant.

† One of these dogs was ludicrously called Robespierre.

Fate of Be-
noit.

Of Benoit, personally, there is little to add; he behaved himself so much to the satisfaction of his employers, as gaoler and spy at the Luxembourg, that he was promoted to the same offices at the larger prison of the Carmes, where he continued for some time after the death of Robespierre: but condign punishment at length overtook him; he was included in the act of accusation against Fouquier Tainville, tried, and sent to the guillotine with him and his accomplices.

8th May
1795.

ETIENNE-CHARLES DE LOMENIE DE BRIENNE.

THE name of de Brienne, archbishop of Sens, has been little noticed in the course of the revolution, though the errors of his administration were the principal means by which it was effected. His rashness, presumption, and timidity disorganized the government; and the plans which, either from treachery or folly, he recommended, accelerated the events which overturned the monarchy.

The family of Lomenie was of the antient Limousin nobility, and is traced back to the fourteenth century. He added de Brienne to his family name, because one of his ancestors had espoused a lady of that illustrious house. Etienne-Charles was born at Paris, and bred to the church, obtained successively the bishopric of Condom, and the archbishopric of Thoulouse.

Family
and pre-
ferments.

1727.

1761.

1763.

Notwithstanding his clerical character and dignified station in the church, de Brienne was noted for the profligacy of his life and the licentiousness of his manners. He made no secret of his profession of atheism, and attached himself to d'Alembert, and the writers who assisted him in decrying revelation and extirpating Christianity. He was one of four ecclesiastical commissioners named to take into consideration the state of monasteries in France, and had the address to obtain the principal direction of the business. Entering cordially into

Professed
atheism.

1770.

Exertions
against the
monks.

* Dictionnaire de la Noblesse, par M. de la Chenaye des Bois.

the views of his associates, he exerted himself so effectually, that by his means fifteen hundred convents were suppressed in France. It is not necessary to discuss the utility of monastic vows, or to state the arguments which policy might suggest either for retaining or suppressing such a number of small establishments; but it could surely do no honor to a Catholic bishop to have lifted his hand against the church; and it must have afforded consolation and triumph to the sufferers to reflect that they owed their disgrace to an avowed atheist. His exertions procured him the nick-name of *l'Anti Moine*¹.

Means of
acquiring
influence
with the
queen.

Proposed
as arch-
bishop of
Paris.

Rejected
by the
king.

The bishop of Orleans having been desired to recommend a clergyman as tutor to the archduchess of Austria, afterwards queen of France, applied to de Brienne, who nominated the abbé Vermont. In gratitude for this kindness, Vermont used his influence to promote the interests of his first patron². On the death of M. de Beaumont, archbishop of Paris, great interest was employed to obtain that see for de Brienne. The anti-christian faction afforded him their most strenuous support, and the queen, at the instance of Vermont, prevailed on the king to consent to his appointment. This consent did no dishonor to the religious principles of Louis XVI.; he had heard of the learning, genius, and talents of the archbishop of Thoulouse, but was utterly unacquainted with the immoral parts of his character. He was, however, soon undeceived. His aunts, the princess de Marianne, and several other respectable personages, exposed the character of de Brienne in its proper light; the nomination was revoked, and Leclerc de Juigné, a prelate of the most unexceptionable character, was raised to this high dignity³. This circumstance made such an impression on the mind of the king, that when it was proposed to

¹ Memoirs du Jacobinisme, par Barruel, vol. i. p. 121.

² Ibid. p. 182.

³ Ibid. 180.

admit

admit this unworthy prelate to a seat in the council, he answered with indignation, "The man does not believe in God."

Becoming sensible that the badness of his character was a great impediment to his ambitious views, de Brienne assumed the mask of hypocrisy, affected a sincere conversion, and pretended to be solely occupied in the duties of his diocese. He still retained the esteem of the queen, and cherished hopes that by her means he might gain the situation of prime minister.

Aspires to
be prime
minister.

The inflexibility of the king afforded little ground for these hopes; but the embarrassment of public affairs facilitated the accomplishment of his wishes. When Calonne had induced the king to favor his plan for convoking the notables, he waited on the queen to communicate it to her. He found her majesty surrounded by courtiers, who, when the project was explained, vied with each other in applauding its propriety. The archbishop of Thoulouse expressed himself with peculiar warmth on the occasion. Pleased with this unexpected support, the minister said, that he intended to include among the notables fourteen or fifteen bishops; that he hoped de Brienne would have no objection to be one of the number, and, as he must necessarily be acquainted with his own order, left the remaining bishops to his nomination, excluding only a few, who were Calonne's professed enemies. The archbishop gladly availed himself of this opportunity to acquire patronage and ruin the minister. All the prelates nominated by him were inimical to Calonne, devoted to Brienne, or influenced by the writings of Necker. Thus supported, he commenced a systematic opposition, and finally succeeded in driving the minister from the helm.

1787.
Error of
Calonne.

De Brienne
opposes,

* Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 38.

■ Ibid.

* Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 60.

and suc-
ceeds him.

De Brienne was not the immediate successor of Calonne; the place of prime minister was conferred on M. de Fourqueux, a man of amiable manners and unimpeached character; but ill-health prevented his retaining the situation longer than three weeks. The reins of government were now confided to de Brienne, who was soon afterwards translated to the archbishopric of Sens, and constituted principal minister, with great influence in the departments of his colleagues^b.

His popu-
larity.

He commenced his administration under the most favourable auspices. The public gave him credit for great talents and abilities, and his friends were numerous and powerful. The disgrace of Calonne was considered as necessary to the public welfare, and the archbishop enjoyed for a time great popularity^c.

Opposition
of the par-
liament.

The efforts of faction, however, were speedily renewed. De Brienne had dismissed the notables, many of whom, he suspected, would continue to favor Calonne, and determined to submit his plans to the parliament of Paris. He speedily evinced that it was more easy to cavil at the mistakes of another, than fill with credit an arduous situation. He adopted the plans which had been proposed by his predecessor, but was so deficient in judgment, that he was incapable of arranging them in such a manner as to avoid the odium to which his situation exposed him. One of these plans was a tax on landed property and seignorial rights, which ought to have been first presented, because had the parliament refused to register it, their conduct would have appeared to proceed from selfish motives, and by exciting indignation in the people, have strengthened the hands of government. The archbishop, afraid perhaps of offending the clergy, whose property was

^b Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 40. Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 30. Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. p. 15. et seq. Histories.

^c Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. p. 8.

implicated

implicated in the proposed tax, or relying on the popularity of the measure, to make his peace after some less agreeable should have been resorted to, began by several unpopular edicts, among which was one permitting the exportation of grain. After this he proposed a stamp duty, which originated with Calonne, and which the parliament refused to register, alledging, that it was oppressive to the commercial interest, and highly burdensome to the lower class of people. This objection, however, was not founded in truth. The tax was afterwards adopted by the national assembly, and produced twenty-two millions (962,500*l.*) a-year, though not carried to the extent proposed by the archbishop^d. 1791.

At length the minister proposed his land-tax, which was calculated to have obviated the objection raised against the stamp duty; but the parliament, having now secured popularity, at first evaded the registration of the edict, by inquiring how many more taxes were to be imposed; and when the minister assured them this was the last, answered, they could not believe him: they added, that admitting his sincerity, his declaration could not bind his successors, and therefore, without examination into its propriety, they refused to register the decree. Land-tax proposed. Registration refused.

The king, upon this, was induced to hold a *bed of justice*; at which he commanded the parliament to retract their refusal. They declared, however contrary to truth, that they had not the power of registering taxes without the consent of the nation, and demanded a convocation of the states general. This answer incensed the minister, and he caused them to be banished to Troyes, where they were soon prevailed on to register the decrees, and returned to Paris. Bed of justice.

Soon afterwards the exhausted state of the treasury rendered a loan necessary. The minister, hoping Loan proposed.

^d See Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. v. p. 401.

that

that the late humiliation of the parliament would prevent a serious opposition, resolved to obtain from them, at once, a decree for four hundred and twenty millions (18,375,000*l.*), and a sanction for further loans, for the service of 1788, and the four succeeding years. To ascertain, however, as nearly as possible the disposition of the parliament, he privately consulted many of the members, who promised their support. On the day of proposing the loan, he attempted surreptitiously to introduce it amongst some popular decrees, particularly one for granting to Protestants all the privileges of Catholics. This decree he flattered himself would give a great idea of his policy, because it was expected from the troubles which then agitated Holland, and which de Brienne had fomented*, that many of the inhabitants, under favor of the proposed toleration, would emigrate into France with all their wealth. Lastly, that nothing might be omitted which could secure the passing of the decree, it was determined, that the king, in person, should be present at the registration of the edicts, and that the meeting should not be called by the unpopular name of a *bed of justice*, but a *royal sitting*. Had all these precautions been secret, they might perhaps have been successful; but they were disclosed to the Duke of Orleans by one Sabatier, a counsellor of parliament, the pretended friend of the minister, but in reality one of the duke's faction. This discovery produced an opposition, which, after a debate of nine hours, reduced the king to the necessity of commanding, by his own authority, the registration of the decrees, and occasioned his banishment of Orleans to Villers-Cotteret†.

Edict registered by compulsion.

Cour pléniere projected.

To parry the proposal of the parliament to convocate the estates general, the archbishop proposed a new plan, which was, to establish courts of justice in

* See Life of Dumouriez, vol. ii, p. 238.

† See ORLEANS, the

the various provinces of France, and one grand court, called *cour pleniére*, all the members of which should be named by the crown, and the exclusive business of which should be to enregister the king's edicts. This innovation, though de Brienne affectedly called it a re-establishment of the *cour pleniére*, was designed to suspend or suppress all the superior courts of magistracy in the kingdom. Apprehensive of violent opposition, he determined to prevent the publication of the plan, till the day fixed for enregistering the edicts, which was intended to be done by a *bed of justice* in Paris, and by royal commissioners, at the same instant, in all courts of the kingdom. To obviate the necessity of intrusting a number of clerks with this important secret, a private press was established at Versailles, and the printers were shut up and closely guarded. The orders for the departure of the *intendants* passed through the office of the minister of finance, and every feint was used to prevent discovery. This mysterious secrecy and portentous preparation excited proportionate suspicion, and as any attempt against the magistracy would at that time have been highly unpopular, to that the finger of suspicion pointed. The minister prepared the commissioners to feel disgust at their intended mission, by his want of confidence, and by denying his real intentions whenever they were suggested. The people were alarmed by the calling out of the troops, which displayed at once the weakness and violence of the government. The secret was nevertheless discovered by M. d'Espréménil, counsellor of parliament. To gratify idle curiosity, and prevent the ascertainment of the real fact, it was asserted that Espréménil had bribed one of the printers, and that he had thrown a copy of the edict out of the printing-house window in a pipkin. The truth, however, appears to have been, that d'Espréménil obtained a knowledge of the secret from

Conducted
with great
secrecy.

The secret
discovered.

Semonville, an interested hypocrite, wavering between the two parties, but who had sufficient address to obtain the confidence of de Brienne.

Cour pleniére
established.

When the king had been induced again to hold a *bed of justice*, and force a sanction by means of his authority, the step was so unpopular, that those members of the parliament who, together with some of the princes of the blood and officers of state, were to have formed the *cour pleniére*, disavowed, by a public and authentic instrument, all share in advising the measure. They were probably encouraged to this proceeding by the silent disapprobation with which the king's speech was attended to by the whole assembly, to whom it was addressed, and a protest against it signed by six peers. These members were again summoned before the king, who, only repeating what he had said before, confirmed them in their resolutions; which they printed and dispersed throughout the kingdom. In the mean time, orders had been sent to Paris for putting seals on all the *bureaus* containing the records and papers of the parliament, and the provincial parliaments were suspended from their functions. These acts produced discontents and riots in many parts of the kingdom.

Violent
discontents.

13th July
1788.

De Brienne
resolves to
retire.

Hurricane.

The minister now began to feel extreme trepidation, and to meditate a resignation. He was confirmed in this resolution by a dreadful hurricane, which threatened ruin to France by its extensive devastations, and seemed to oppose insurmountable difficulties to his retaining his station.

His last
measures.

His last acts were marked with the same fatality which had distinguished his whole ministerial career. His disgust against the parliament amounted to a degree of rancour, which induced him to obtain from the king a positive promise to convoke the states general. He also invited the academies and the learned men to give their opinions on the manner of assembling the

the states, and voting when assembled. This invitation opened the flood-gates of political discussion, and introduced a torrent of licentious publications, which finally overwhelmed the government^s. He was also said to have recommended the recal of Necker. This report, though not strictly true, probably saved his person from those violences he would otherwise have had reason to expect in his progress through France. When his departure was known, the rabble of Paris dressed up a manikin to represent his person, and after a mock procession through the streets, attended with many acts of violence, and the enforcement of an illumination, they burned the effigy. They were preparing to repeat the same ceremony the next night, but were prevented by the military, who, in dispersing them, killed and wounded a great number^h.

Retires;

Is burned
in effigy.

De Brienne pursued his journey to Rome, where the pope honoured him with the dignity of cardinal. When the revolution was effected, he returned to France, and signalized his infamy by taking the oaths required by the assembly and forbidden by the pope. Of one hundred and thirty-eight bishops, only four committed this act of apostacy. The pope deprived him of his cardinal's hatⁱ.

Made cardinal.
Feb. 1791.
Becomes a constitutional bishop.
March.
Deprived of the cardinalship.

^s The fury of this inundation may be gathered from the following calculation: "It is asserted that it would have cost a thousand crowns (125*l.*) to purchase all the pamphlets and books in sheets which "were published in Paris on the convocation of the states general, "from the month of October 1788 to January 1789. Few of these "writings sold for more than three livres (2*s.* 7½*d.*); the greatest part "were sold at forty, but many for six sous. We may, therefore, reasonably conclude, that in this preliminary question alone, the prodigious number of two thousand five hundred books were published." *Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI.* vol. vi. p. 105.

^h The accounts respecting the administration and retreat of this minister are not contradictory in any respect, but some are more ample than others. I have, besides the Histories, consulted Necker on the Revolution; Bertrand's Memoirs; Bouillé's Memoirs; the Conjunction de d'Orleans; and Moore's View.

ⁱ Barruel's History of the Clergy, p. 80.

20th Feb.
1794.
Dies.

He died in France, in a state of total oblivion and contempt, not less despised by the atheists and republicans, whose good opinion he had laboured to acquire, than by those who preserved respect for royalty, or love for religion*.

His character.

He is thus ably characterized by Bertrand: "No man's real character appears ever to have been more misunderstood. He was supposed to possess energy, because he was violent; learning, because he was positive; genius, because he had vivacity; talents for governing, because he criticised the administrations of all his predecessors. His friends and adherents, however, have since been sufficiently convinced of their mistake by the weakness of his resources, by his ignorance, by the incoherence of his ideas, and the absurdity of his measures¹." The effect of his administration was such as to expose in a forcible light every defect in the formation of the old French government. He totally falsified, by his conduct, the natural disposition and views of the king, whose power he degraded by acts of wanton and ill-timed violence, and whose person and government he exposed to ridicule and abhorrence by unnecessary exertions and ineffectual severities.

* Memoires du Jacobinisme par Barruel, vol. i. p. 284.

¹ Memoirs, vol. i. p. 45.

JAQUES PIERRE BRISSOT.

AMONG those whom the revolution brought into notice, and whom the efforts of party have exhibited to the admiration of mankind, Brissot stands eminently conspicuous. He has been praised for virtues, genius, and knowledge which he never possessed; and cited as a model of political perfection, though deficient in every requisite to form a statesman. The remains of his party triumphed after the fall of Robespierre; and, in order to overwhelm the reputation and faction of that tyrant with popular odium, they extolled, beyond measure, every act of his political rival and his associates; and raised Brissot to unmerited celebrity, that Robespierre and his adherents might be depressed by the comparison.

Brissot was born at Chartres in the Orleannois ^m. 14th Jan. 1754. His father was a *traiteur*, or master of an eating-house. By the profits of his trade he was enabled to afford his children, who were at least thirteen in number, a good education. Jaques Pierre having pursued his studies with considerable success, was

Birth and
education.

Studies the
law;

^m The events of Brissot's life anterior to the revolution are principally derived from a work called "the Life of Brissot, written by himself;" which is a translation of a pamphlet published by him under the title of "Reponse de Jaques Pierre Brissot à tous les libellistes qui ont attaqué, & qui attaquent sa vie passée;" and from a Life of Brissot prefixed to the London edition of his Essay on the Commerce of America; which is in part abridged from the above, though with some additions and many errors.

designed for the bar, and served five years as clerk to several attornies in the country and in Paris. But he was soon disgusted with the law, and applied to literature and languages.

changes
his name ;

Becoming accidentally acquainted with two Englishmen, he resolved to learn their language ; and that occurrence decided his fate. He was seized with a love for English manners and customs, and changed his name, that it might appear like that of an Englishman. In compliance with the mode of his country, and for the purpose of distinguishing himself from his brothers, he had assumed the name of *Ouarville*, from a village where his father possessed some property, and now changed that appellative to *Warville*, the English *W* sounding like the French diphthong *Ou*.

quits the
study of the
law ;

The perusal of English books completed his disgust to the law, which he quitted without taking the gown. This act disobliged his parents, and he pursued his studies with no other dependence than the bounty of some friends at Paris, his own talents, moderation, and frugality. At the death of his father, he paid the sums which had been advanced ; and his remaining income enabled him, though not without considerable difficulty, to continue his studies two years longer.

writes in
the *Courier*
de l'Eu-
rope.

While he was thus occupied, the proprietor of *le Courier de l'Europe*, having been obliged to leave England on account of a dispute with the Stamp-office, formed a project of publishing his news-paper at Boulogne on an improved plan. Brissot says, that he was *applied to* by this person to superintend that department of his paper known by the title of *Variétés*. This is not probable, even according to his own account ; which represents him buried in solitude, and merely occupied in the pursuit of learning, without any effort to attract public notice. He conducted the paper, till government interfering, prevented

prevented a continuance of the publication". Brissot then left Boulogne and returned to Paris.

On his arrival he is said to have been admitted a counsellor in parliament, but he does not state the fact himself; he only observes that he resumed *his first studies*; and there is no account of his having, at any time, practised as an advocate. The transactions of Brissot's early life are involved in an inscrutable mystery, which seems to confirm the assertion of a late illustrious author, that he was employed as a spy in the lower departments of the police, both in and out of France. He probably quitted this occupation some time before the revolution, and was afterwards anxious to eradicate every trace of his having engaged in it".

Mysteri-
ousness of
his life.

On his return from Boulogne to Paris, Brissot resolved to commence an important work. Two objects were open to his attacks; religion and government. The efforts of Rousseau, and of Voltaire and his disciples, affording no hopes of fame or profit from decrying religion, he resolved to direct his efforts against government. "Conceiving the establishment to be most easily wounded by a side-blow," he produced two octavo volumes, intitled *the Theory of Criminal Laws*. In the plan and com-

His pub-
lications.

1780.

* Brissot's Life, which, according to the French title, ought to be very explicit and satisfactory, is deficient in both these particulars. It furnishes few dates, and those are doubtful; it states many facts ambiguously and inconclusively; and, on the whole, seems the production of a man who is desirous, by an affectation of candour, to prevent research and defeat inquiry. His anonymous Biographer has supplied some of these deficiencies, but in a manner which evidently proves that he has made assertions respecting which he was not duly informed. Brissot says "that his employ did not last *for any length of time*." (See Life, p. 16.) His Biographer states its duration to have been about two years. See Commerce of America with Europe, p. 5. of the Introduction.

o Burke. See the first of his three Memorials, p. 73.

p I do not mean to assume these as positive facts; but there is reason to presume that Burke would not have advanced such an assertion (though he does it with great diffidence) had he not derived his information from what he considered good authority. Robespierre asserts the same fact. See Robespierre à ses Commettans, vol. II. p. 37.

position of this work the author avows several defects ; but says it was applauded by some Reviewers, though torn in pieces by others ; that it procured him the friendship of the most zealous defenders of human nature, and the applause of M. la Cretelle.

1781.

This publication was followed by two Discourses, which were crowned by the academy of Chalons-sur-Marne : the one, *on the Reform of Criminal Laws* ; the other, *on the Reparation due to innocent Persons unjustly accused*. He also began a work which was afterwards completed in ten volumes, called *A Philosophical Library of the Criminal Laws*. The object of this work was to diffuse those principles of liberty which guided the English and Americans, by inserting many pieces which aimed at great political reforms. He likewise wrote a volume *concerning Truth* ; or, *Thoughts on the Means of attaining Truth in all the Branches of Human Knowledge*, which was intended as an introduction to a greater work.

None of these productions have come under my inspection. The author speaks of them with the affection of a parent, and cites a few favourable testimonies from Reviews and private correspondence. Madame de Genlis mentions them with little respect : speaking of a subsequent period she says, " I did not even know that Brissot was the author " of five or six large volumes very little known " (*tres ignorés*) at that time, and very indifferent " productions ; I have read them since ".

His attain-
ments,

Brissot's acquaintance with living languages extended to the English, German, Italian, and Spanish ; he had recently added to his other studies chemistry, physics, anatomy, and religion. In these and many other branches of knowledge, he boasted that he had important information to disclose to the world.

* *Precis de la Conduite de Madame de Genlis depuis la Revolution*, p. 38.

He had remarked that, " if philosophical books
 " were the best vehicle of political revolutions, great
 " obstacles opposed its efficacy. The career of genius
 " was impeded by the dread of the Bastille: the
 " labours of the printers were stopped by their ap-
 " prehension of the police: the booksellers alone
 " set prohibitions at defiance. The difficulty, there-
 " fore, was not to procure a sale, but to find au-
 " thors and printers. Now, by placing the one and
 " the other in foreign countries, a remedy existed
 " against the double impediment; for the avarice of
 " smugglers would afterwards insure the intro-
 " duction of the books into France. Full of this
 " idea, he imagined that the project of spreading
 " through France great political principles might
 " easily be effected, were some intrepid and en-
 " lightened friends of liberty to form a coalition, to
 " fix their residence and compose their works in
 " London, a city where the freedom of individuals
 " is maintained in the highest degree; and after-
 " wards, were they to print them in either *Switzer-*
 " *land* or *Germany*, countries where the paper and
 " the various expences of the press are cheaper, and
 " from whence such works might with more faci-
 " lity be introduced and disseminated through
 " France. These memoirs might be collected toge-
 " ther into a kind of periodical work, under the title
 " of *An universal Correspondence on Points which are*
 " *interesting to the Welfare of Man and of Society.*
 " He communicated his project to men who possessed
 " the reputation of glowing with an abhorrence against
 " despotism. They received it favourably; they en-
 " couraged him; they promised him every kind of
 " support. He secured a printer and bookseller, at
 " that time eminent in *Germany*, who undertook to
 " engage in this business, to reprint and to circulate
 " copies in the north of Europe; and he kept his
 " word. The source from whence a literary inun-
 " dation might have flowed in upon all France was
 " *Switzer-*

Goes to
Geneva.

" Switzerland. Geneva and Neufchatel then offered
 " the principal assortment of *prohibited* books, and
 " he travelled thither. During his residence at
 " Geneva he became acquainted with Claviere.
 " Geneva did not suit his purpose, but *Neufchatel*
 " offered every advantage, and to *Neufchatel* he
 " gave the preference. Sure of the reprinting and
 " of the distribution of the work, and relying upon
 " his co-operators at Paris, he hastened to London,
 " and published his *Prospectus*. The first numbers
 " came out in the most rapid succession. He spared
 " neither money nor labour to give solidity to the
 " establishment. He unsuspectingly conceived that
 " *he should have been seconded by those who, binding*
 " *themselves under the most sacred oaths, had promised*
 " *assistance and materials.* They professed themselves
 " ready to sign articles even with their own blood. But
 " he rejected this idea, and refused to accept of any
 " written compact whatsoever. His associates sported
 " with every obligation. Although deserted, he
 " had the resolution to publish two volumes of this
 " correspondence. They were favourably received
 " and *reprinted in Germany*; but the *English* and
 " *Neufchatel* editions were seized in France: not a
 " single copy got abroad; so that this work, which
 " might have assisted in preparing the reign of free-
 " dom, continued unknown in that country. He
 " lost by this undertaking more than ten thousand
 " livres (437 l. 10 s.)."

Observa-
 tions on
 these trans-
 actions.

I have copied the last paragraph from Brissot's own
 account of the transaction; because, I think, allow-
 ing for the author's vanity in supposing himself the
 first who had suggested a project long before adopted,
 and allowing for his caution in suppressing some
 facts and falsifying others, it affords a strong illus-
 tration of the conspiracy respecting which Barruel
 and Professor Robison have advanced such irrefra-

* See Life, p. 27 to 32.

gable proofs. It shews the nature of the conspiracy, and the means of giving it effect; and points clearly to the same objects which are indicated by Barruel and Robison. The probable cause of Brissot's being deserted is, that the party with whom he was connected suspected that he was a spy for government, or were apprehensive lest his imprudence and levity might, in the ferment which prevailed at Geneva, make some discoveries highly detrimental to their cause.

Brissot, though disappointed and impoverished, was not discouraged; he resolved to go to England that he might from thence disseminate his principles in France. *He had before investigated the English Constitution on the spot*, and now thought, in spite of its defects, it was a model for those societies who were desirous of changing their form of government. To elude the vigilance of the French administration, he proposed to publish a Journal written in London, and containing a *Description of the Arts and Sciences in England*, the greater part of which he intended to devote to an investigation of the English constitution. The French ministry, after many difficulties, granted a privilege for this Journal on condition that, being printed at London, it might be reprinted at Paris. In this work he also endeavoured to give some information respecting the British possessions in India, with a view "to accelerate the moment when that region should be open to all nations." After the publication of twelve numbers, forming two octavo volumes, the work was discontinued.

1783.
Goes to
England.

publishes a
Journal.

1784.

Brissot's first visit to England is said by his Biographer to have taken place in 1777. I did not mention it in its place because I knew no particular circumstances attending it; and I have noticed it in this place exactly in the words and in the manner of Brissot himself; because I think his cautious mode of adverting to it seems to afford a presumptive proof that he was sent, as Burke has said, as a spy from the police, or on some other iniquitous errand. The reader will recollect that Brissot, though he affects to throw open to his enemies the book of his life, has involved this and many other parts of it in a studied obscurity.

At

His ly-
ceum.

At the same time, Brissot had formed a plan of establishing in London a centre of correspondence and reunion with all the learned men and politicians of Europe, under the appearance of a lyceum, similar to those at Paris. "It was my wish," he says, "to create that universal confederation of the friends of liberty and of truth, which more fortunate philosophers than myself have realised at Paris since the French revolution." His success was prevented, as he says, by the perverse disposition of a partner, whom he does not name; but whom he represents as the dupe of treacherous instigations; and by the incessant persecutions of the French ministry. One cause of his failure, and of his quitting England, which he has omitted to mention, is recorded by his Biographer, namely, that he was arrested by his printer; and his projects had left him in such a state of penury, that he was indebted to the generosity of a friend for his liberation. Soon after his release he returned to Paris.

May 1784.

His quar-
rel with de
Morande;

During his residence in England he had quarrelled with de Morande, editor of the *Courier de l'Europe*; and the enmity of that Journalist is said to have occasioned the severity with which Brissot was treated by the French government.

his com-
mitment to
the Bastille

A publication of peculiar audacity and virulence, written by one Pelleport, was so offensive to the French ministry, that they offered a thousand *louis-d'or* for apprehending the author. Induced by this reward, de Morande inveigled Pelleport to Boulogne, and delivered him up to the French government. Brissot having been acquainted with Pelleport at London, was pointed out as a co-operator in his publication, arrested, and sent to the Bastille¹.

22th July
1784.

¹ There are many reasons for doubting the correctness of the account given by Brissot of his arrest, and the motives of it. His Biographer differs from him in narrating the particulars; but, for want of a better authority, I have related the facts as they are detailed by Brissot, with some additions from his Biographer.

In this situation Brissot applied to madame de Genlis, then well known as an author, who interested the duke de Chartres, afterwards Orleans, in his behalf^u; and such effectual solicitations were made, that after a confinement of less than two months he was liberated, on condition that he should not return to England. This is the only account of his confinement which is now public; but I am inclined to think, that if the records of his commitment had been fairly given to the world, they would have exposed some facts relative to his original employ under government. He seems to have been peculiarly anxious to conceal these facts; for when the registers of the Bastille were published, under the title of *La Bastille dévoilée*, he suppressed that part of the book which contained the reasons of his commitment, and wrote the article himself, in a manner which conveyed very little information^v.

10th Sept.

Madame de Genlis says, that Brissot was totally unknown to her, even by name, till she effected his release from the Bastille; and that he afterwards made his addressee to mademoiselle Dupont, who was in the service of mademoiselle d'Orleans^w. In this statement madame de Genlis is mistaken. It appears from Brissot's own Narrative^x, from the report of Breteuil the minister, quoted in the same work^y, from the account given by his Biographer, and from a Letter published in the *Correspondence secrète*, and afterwards reprinted in *la Bastille dévoilée*^b, that he had been long married to mademoiselle Dupont, and had left her, with a child four months old, in England. This lady is commended by madame Roland as a pattern of affection, industry, and domestic virtue^c.

His marriage.

^u Précis de la Conduite de Madame de Genlis, p. 38.

^v See Bastille dévoilée, troisième livraison, p. 75.

^w Précis de la Conduite de Madame de Genlis, p. 39.

^x P. 45.

^y P. 44.

^b Quatrième livraison, p. 129.

^c Appel à l'impartiale Postérité, vol. ii. p. 47.

Having

1785.
Publica-
tions.

Having obtained his liberty, he resumed his literary occupations; and published *Two Letters to the Emperor Joseph II. concerning the Right of Emigration, and the Right of the People to revolt*. These Letters were circulated in Germany, but suppressed by the police in France. They were occasioned by the emperor's edict against emigration, and by the punishment of Horiah, the chief of the Walachian insurgents. In the next year, he produced *Philosophical Letters on the History of England*, a work which, though similar in title, was diametrically opposite in principles to one published in England, and attributed to lord Lyttleton, though, in fact, written by doctor Goldsmith. Brissot's book was not successful. He also published *A Critical Examination of the Travels of the Marquis de Chatelleux in North America*, in which he defended the cause of the slaves, the people, and the Quakers, against the attacks of the marquis, whom he calls a military wit. At this period Brissot changed his sentiments on government; and transferred the admiration he had felt for the mixed constitution of England, to the republican form adopted in America. He considered an alliance and strict commercial connexion with the United States an object of the first importance to France; and, assisted by Claviere, wrote a volume on the subject, intitled, *The Commerce of America with Europe, particularly with France and Great Britain, stated and explained*. A translation of this work was published in England and in America.

Appointed
secretary to
the chan-
cery of
d'Orleans;

An advantageous alteration was now made in Brissot's circumstances, he was received into the household of the duke of Orleans. He was employed by Ducrest, the duke's chancellor, as secretary general of the chancery, with a salary of a thousand crowns (250*l.*), and apartments in the Palais Royal. Brissot says, "Ducrest wished eagerly to attach me to his administration, which he was anxious to signalize by great and salutary measures. I felt
" a dread

"a dread of this kind of engagements; but he cleared all obstacles away, and a particular circumstance determined me to accept the post."

Madame de Genlis, however, relates the fact in a manner less flattering to Brissot's importance. She says, that she endeavoured to dissuade mademoiselle Dupont from marrying a man without fortune, and, according to her opinion, without abilities. Finding the young lady decided in her choice, she promised to solicit a small appointment for Brissot, and obtained from the duke of Orleans, when he succeeded to his paternal estate, the place which Brissot occupied. He waited on madame de Genlis, together with his wife, to return thanks for a favor surpassing his most sanguine hopes, but never renewed the visit, or shewed the least gratitude towards his benefactress. He was unwilling that his wife should frequent a family where many of the servants remembered her being on a level with themselves.

To merit the favors he received, Brissot employed his pen in forwarding the views of his patron. He wrote a pamphlet against the administration of the archbishop of Sens, intitled, *No Bankruptcy; or Letters to a Creditor of the State concerning the Impossibility of a National Bankruptcy, and the Means of restoring Credit and Peace.* writes a pamphlet;

Though this pamphlet was published without any name in the title-page, Brissot was discovered to be the author, and a *lettre de cachet* was issued against him, but he obtained intelligence of his danger, and escaped into Holland, where a party was attempting to effect a change of government, but did not succeed. He then, contrary to his promise when he was discharged from the Bastille, went to England. goes to Holland;
to England;
From England he proceeded to Mechlin, and be-

^d Life, p. 50.

^e *Precis de la Conduite, &c.* p. 39. See also the History of the Brissotins by Camille Desmoulins, p. 9.

came

editor of a
news-pa-
per.

Amis des
Noirs.

June 1788.

Dismissed
by Orleans.

His opi-
nions of
public cha-
racters.

June 1788.
Goes to
America;

1789.
Writes a
pamphlet.

14th July.
Receives
the keys
of the
Bastille.

came editor of a news-paper, called *Le Courier Belgique*.

While Brissot remained in France, a society had been established under the name of *Amis des Noirs*, the pretended object of which was to obtain the total abolition of negro slavery. Brissot was one of the earliest members, and even pretends that he was the founder of this society. To forward the views of the *Amis de Noirs*, he resolved to make a voyage to America, and seems to have entertained thoughts of settling there, which he was easily induced to resign.

A change having taken place in the household of his patron, Brissot was discharged, or more probably the nature of his employment was altered.

In the service of Orleans he had many opportunities of becoming acquainted with men who considered themselves destined to effect a revolution, but he was disgusted with their immorality, and they entertained no esteem for him. He quitted France with a persuasion that the period of revolution was distant; but he had not passed many months in America before he was informed that a convocation of the states general was resolved on, and he probably received a summons to return. He committed to writing the observations made during his residence in the United States, and afterwards published them under the title of *New Travels in America*.

At his return, Brissot found the public engaged in all the violence of political discussion, which preceded the assembly of the states general. He wrote a *plan of conduct for the deputies of the people*, which shared the fate of the numerous pamphlets of the day.

There is no room to doubt that Brissot co-operated with the Orleans faction in those measures which produced the revolution, but his precise efforts are not ascertained. At the period of the capture of the Bastille, he was president of the section *Des Filles St. Thomas*, and by some accountable accident, as he says,

says^f, the keys of that fortress, and the sword of de Lofme, the major-general, were brought to him^g. There is no reason to call this an unaccountable accident; Brissot was known to be a friend of Orleans, and those who had instigated the riots which produced the taking of the Bastille were determined that the keys should be intrusted only to a friend of that prince.

At the revolution the reign of the journalists began, and Brissot immediately established a daily paper, under the title of *Le Patriote François*. This journal was devoted to revolutionary principles, highly approving every breach of law and social order, till his party had attained power, and was afterwards distinguished for a series of violent strictures on the opposite faction, which they never forgave.

Publishes a journal.

During the early periods of the revolution, the name of Brissot was little known. He seems to have adhered to the Orleans faction, though he was not so active as other partisans of that prince. He was one of the committee established at the *Hotel de Ville*, to inquire into the conduct of Orleans in the conspiracy of the fifth and sixth of October. They shewed the most decided partiality in their proceedings, and contrived to shape the inquiry in such a manner, that it was almost impossible to convict the offenders^h. When the national assembly changed the place of its sitting from Versailles to Paris, he attended with a deputation of citizens, and, as speaker, congratulated them on the event. This removal was effected by the intrigues and criminal exertions of Orleans, and the congratulation, which had been previously concerted with Mirabeau, was highly acceptable to the dukeⁱ.

Attachment to Orleans.

^f Bastille dévoilée, troisième Livraison, p. 75.

^g Impartial History, vol. i. p. 129.

^h Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 391.

ⁱ Histories. Debates. Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 59.

Exertions
of the
*Amis des
Noirs.*

Brissot did not often appear at the Jacobin club, but in the society of *Amis des Noirs* he was active and indefatigable. He promoted every measure which tended to procure the unconditional emancipation of the people of colour, to place them on a level with the white planters, and procure to the colonists the barren honor of sending representatives to the French legislature. This society was not instituted merely for the purposes expressed by its name, but as a point of union for all those pretended philosophers, who favoured the most extensive plans of revolution and disorder^k. The conduct of the members, and the affectation of perfect freedom and equality observed at the meetings, tend to confirm this fact. Playfair says, "This assembly, called *Friends of the blacks*, might with more propriety have been termed *Enemies of the whites*; it was a school for equality and absurdity. There people of different sexes, and of all ranks, might be admitted; but it was expressly forbidden to take off the hat or salute the company; so that Brissot and consorts, speculating on the revolutions they could bring on, and the plunder they could gain, were jumbled into one assembly with the virtuous Madame de la Rochefoucauld, without more ceremony than porters in the tap-room of an ale-house^l. The effects of this association were strictly consonant to its imputed causes. Shortly after the revolution, the trade of France languished, and the only branch of commerce which remained flourishing was the trade to the sugar colonies. The efforts of the *Amis des Noirs* threw the merchants interested in this trade into the utmost consternation, and in the end their alarms proved but too well founded^m. A mulatto from St. Domingo, named Ogé, was admitted to this society, and became so

^k *Memoires du Jacobinisme*, par Barruel, vol. ii. p. 445.

^l *History of Jacobinism*, p. 92.

^m *Arthur Young's Travels*, p. 275.

inflamed

inflamed with the declamations in favor of liberty and equality of rights, that at his return to the colony he put himself at the head of a troop of rebellious mulattoes and negroes, who, though their number was small, carried devastation and terror into the possessions and habitations of the colonists. Ogé, after a series of inhuman acts, was taken, and expiated his crimes by a death equally barbarous; he was broken on the wheel, and left to expire in tortures*. These events alarmed many persons in France, who, though well disposed to favor every revolutionary impulse, were terrified at the disasters and the cruel exterminating war with which the colonies were threatened. Barnave was at the head of the remonstrating party; Mirabeau and Robespierre were conspicuous adherents of the *Amis des Noirs*. Several decrees were obtained so prejudicial to the interests of the colony, that the representatives retired in disgust from the assembly*. Brissot was invariably active in promoting the cause; his paper was devoted to it, and considered so likely to produce the desired effects, that several numbers were carried out to the West Indies, in which the soldiers and sailors were taught to spread the doctrine of equality. His Travels in America were principally written to favor the same cause; and he made a speech in the Jacobin club, exhorting all France to persevere in demanding that people of colour should be admitted to the rights of man. These baleful exertions produced insurrections, massacres, and devastations which desolated the whole colony, and threatened to separate it for ever from the dominion of France. Petitions were frequently presented by the injured proprietors, but were always combated by the *Amis des Noirs*, and particularly by Brissot, as well after he became a legislator as before. The planters were at

* See Bryan Edwards's History of St. Domingo, c. iv.

° Historical Sketch, p. 215. 413.

length obliged to resign their cause to time and chance^p.

Observations on them.

It is not my intention to discuss the abstract question of negro slavery, or even to consider how far propriety required that in times so turbulent, a good patriot should have sacrificed some portion of his feelings, and even of his judgment, to the tranquillity of his country and to the security of its colonies. Rectitude of intention affords little excuse for political delinquency of considerable magnitude, especially for those politicians who have the advantage of hearing their sentiments ably combated; but if a mode of conduct in itself problematical or hazardous can be ascribed to selfish or dishonest motives, no terms of execration are sufficiently emphatical to stigmatize the man who thus wantonly and wickedly excites the storm of popular commotion, to answer some base purpose of his own. The following narrative, explaining the views of the society of *Amis des Noirs*, is taken from Bertrand^q. A *Chevalier de St. Louis*, named de Langle, had rendered services to Bertrand, and was in the habit of communicating such facts as he was enabled to learn by mixing in societies of every description. Conversing on the troubles of St. Domingo, he entered into some details which surprised the minister. To explain the manner in which he had acquired his information, de Langle stated, that he was intimately acquainted with the mistress of Raimond, the mulatto, who was agent for the colony; that this man had the greatest confidence in her, and allowed her to read all his papers; that, of course, she knew every particular of his correspondence respecting St. Domingo, all which she divulged to

^p See Histories, Debates, and Journals, particularly *Le Mercure François*, vols. de Mai, d'Octobre, Novembre, et Decembre, 1791; et de Janvier, Fevrier, and Mars, 1792. Bryan Edwards's *History of St. Domingo*. *Life of Dumouriez*, vol. ii. p. 22.

^q *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 277.

the *chevalier*, being dissatisfied with Raimond for not paying her so liberally as she expected. From her intelligence it appeared, that all the troubles of the colonies had been excited, and were kept up by the manoeuvres of the *Amis des Noirs*. It also appeared, that a considerable contribution had been raised from the richest mulattoes of St. Domingo, and sent to Paris. The correspondence in Raimond's possession related to all these facts, and Bertrand commissioned the *chevalier* to persuade the lady again to examine the papers, and read those of the oldest date with such attention as would enable her to repeat the heads of what they contained. This commission was faithfully executed. In a few days de Langle read to his employer a note dictated by the woman, containing descriptions of the contents of several parcels of papers. The first parcel contained minutes of plans and instructions sent to St. Domingo in 1790 and 1791, for the purpose of exciting, conducting, and supporting the insurrection; and also copies of printed pamphlets and hand-bills, which were to be distributed in the colony. The second parcel contained a draft of a plan, and the register of a contribution to be raised in St. Domingo, amounting to upwards of seven millions (306,250*l.*); great part of this money was to be sent to Paris, to reward the past, and purchase the new services of several members of the assembly and of the Jacobin clubs, to pay lawyers, writers of pamphlets, and journalists, to defray the expence of printing, placards, &c. The third parcel consisted of original letters, addressed to Raimond by his correspondents in St. Domingo, with notes of his answers. One of these letters announced, that nearly a million (43,750*l.*) had been sent to Paris, *en attendant mieux*. And it appeared by one of Raimond's answers, that Brissot had been intrusted with three hundred thousand livres (13,125*l.*); Condorcet with one hundred and fifty thousand (6,526*l.*);

(6526*l.*); the abbé Gregoire eighty thousand (3500*l.*); and Petion sixty thousand (2615*l.*). Robespierre would accept of no money, either for the purpose of distribution or as a gratification, but served the cause with unabated zeal. M. Bertrand was desirous to obtain possession of these important papers, and had entered into a negociation for that purpose, which promised the completest success, but he was disappointed, first by the absence of Raimond, who went to pass the summer at Auteuil, and finally, by the catastrophe of the tenth of August. If this statement is true, the views of the *Amis des Noirs* are completely ascertained, and their conduct is sufficiently flagitious to devote them to abhorrence. The evidence is not by any means perfect, but considering the nature of the case, it warrants belief. Bertrand had too much sagacity to be imposed upon by an unfounded story; the details are circumstantial, and have every appearance of correctness; de Langle had received favors and expected more, and M. Bertrand corroborates his assertions by stating, that he had often received private and early intelligence from him, which he usually found exact. Brissot himself acknowledges that a report of his having enriched himself by his exertions in this cause had been circulated. He positively denies the fact, and avers, that the part he took in behalf of the people of colour had been extremely detrimental to his interests; and that he was never reimbursed what he had advanced. This assertion is not satisfactory, and Brissot might have convinced more of his readers of his disinterestedness, if, instead of descanting on his moderation and the plainness of his dwelling, he had informed them by what means he was enabled to *advance* money, to maintain a house, and to support an unsuccessful newspaper.

* *Memoirs*, vol. ii, p. 277.

* *Life*, p. 36.

There is reason to believe that Brissot's news-paper, *Le Patriote François*, was not successful, at least, till the ministry created by his influence, and devoted to his views, expended the public money in circulating it. Christie, in enumerating the different journals published in France, from which respectable information may be derived, does not mention *Le Patriote François*¹. It possessed one title to celebrity; that of supporting the cause of insubordination, recommending revolt, and apologizing for massacre and pillage. When the banditti of Avignon spread terror around, and the horror excited by their barbarities appeared to animate the whole legislature and people with simultaneous indignation, Brissot stood forward their advocate and apologist. He considered this petty army of robbers and murderers, as including the majesty of the people, and condemned resistance as an opposition of the few to the will of the majority. At a period when the recital of their atrocious deeds made the heart shudder and the blood recoil, Brissot extolled their sanguinary proceedings, and distinguished them by the title of *the Providence of the South*².

Character
of Brissot's
news-
paper.

The hypocrisy of Brissot, the stoical rigor which he always affected³, and the cautious reserve which he maintained to all but a few intimates⁴, render it extremely difficult to trace the motives of his conduct, and to ascertain whether, in reality, he was an Orleanist or a republican. It is certain, that, independent of his place in the duke's household, and his intimate connexion with Petion, he was intrusted with his secrets⁵, and co-operated in all

Uncer-
tainty of
his princi-
ples.

¹ See Letters on the Revolution, Part I. from p. 145 to 148.

² Considerations on the Nature of the French Revolution, by Mallet du Pan, p. 45. n. Historical Sketch, p. 534. Peltier's late Picture vol. i. p. 24. vol. ii. p. 486.

³ Life of Dumouriez, vol. iii. p. 291.

⁴ History of the Brissotines, p. 12.

⁵ For a striking instance, see Mémoires du Jacobinisme, par Barruel, vol. ii. p. 465.

his views. The conduct of Orleans himself favoured the duplicity of his adherents, for he himself swore a hatred to kings long before the revolution^a, and after that æra affected to be a zealous republican.

Writes Le
Republi-
cain.

At the period of the king's flight to Varennes, the most sanguine hopes were entertained by the party to whom Brissot was attached, that this event would ruin the royal cause, and they determined to prepare the public mind for an important change of government. With this view a new paper, called *Le Republicain, ou le Défenseur du Gouvernement Représentatif*, was established under the superintendence and with the assistance of Brissot. Only two numbers were published^b; and it is asserted that the paper was only established to delude the people, and conceal the real views of the conspirators. It is said, that while they contended that the king had abdicated the throne, they were anxious to avert the suspicion that Orleans was intended for his successor. For this purpose they disseminated notions of a republic, and of an agrarian law, taking care to present these innovations in terms so vague, that they could at any subsequent period disavow them^c.

Violence
of his
journal.

25th July
1791.

Though *Le Republicain* was unsuccessful, Brissot did not desist from pleading the cause of republicanism. He announced his opinions on this subject, and against the king's inviolability, so vehemently and pertinaciously in the *Patriote François*, that the paper was denounced in the assembly by M. Goupil, but without effect^d. Perceiving that arguments in favour of a republican form of government were

^a Mémoires du Jacobinisme, par Barruel, vol. ii. p. 454. Conjurat. de d'Orleans, vol. i. p. 53.

^b Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 58.

^c Conjurat. de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 139.

^d Debates. The expression cited by M. Goupil was, "I move that absolute inviolability be considered as derogatory to the sovereignty of the nation, and subversive of the constitution, and that it may consequently be decreed, that the king may and ought to be brought to trial."

disre-

disregarded, Brissot advanced a new proposition, that if royalty must be re-established, the king should have a council, neither chosen by himself or appointed by the national assembly, but elected by the electors of the deputies, and renewed annually. This absurd plan met with some approbation among the most violent members of the assembly and the Jacobins, but no attempt was made to reduce it to practice.

Brissot is accused, notwithstanding these appearances of republicanism, of favouring the views of Orleans, in preparing the petition which was signed in the *Champ de Mars*. It was asserted, that he had framed the petition in such terms, as while it required the dethronement of Louis XVI. permitted Orleans to hope for the diadem. Considering Brissot's attachment to Orleans, to Petion, and La Clos, this account is not improbable. The petition, approved by the Jacobin club, and printed by their order, contained such a sentence, and madame Roland's exculpation of Brissot is so weak and futile, that it serves rather to confirm than to disprove the imputation. She says, "The Jacobins proposed a petition to the assembly, to demand of it to pass judgment on the traitor who had fled: or to request it to take the sense of the people on the punishment he might deserve; and in the mean time to declare that he had lost the confidence of those of Paris. La Clos, a man of great parts whom nature had formed for comprehensive views, and whose vices had dedicated all his faculties to intrigue; La Clos, devoted to d'Orleans, and of great weight in his council, made this proposal to the Jacobins, who received it, and with whom it was abetted by some hundreds of tumultuaries and street-walkers, who tumbled from the Palais Royal into the place of their meeting at ten

Supposed
adherence
to Orleans.

Petition of
the Champ
de Mars.

“ o'clock at night. The society deliberated with
 “ that mob, who also voted; it decreed the sub-
 “ stance of the petition; and it appointed a com-
 “ mittee to draw it up, in which were La Clos and
 “ Brissot. They were employed on it that very
 “ night, for it had been resolved that a deputation
 “ of the society should carry it to the *Champ de*
 “ *Mars* the next day, there to be shewn to all who
 “ might wish to examine and sign it. La Clos pre-
 “ tended a headach, arising from want of sleep,
 “ which would not suffer him to hold the pen, and re-
 “ quested Brissot to take it; and conversing with him
 “ on the composition, he proposed for the last article, I
 “ know not what clause, which revived royalty, and
 “ opened a door for d'Orleans. Brissot surpris'd, re-
 “ jected it with eagerness, and the other, an able poli-
 “ tician, gave it up, with the pretence of not having
 “ sufficiently weigh'd its consequences, well know-
 “ ing that he could slide it in; and in fact it did ap-
 “ pear in the printed paper disseminated abroad as the
 “ resolution of the Jacobins'.”

Afraid of
 a prose-
 cution.

Brissot's conduct was strongly disapproved by the friends of monarchy, and by men of integrity. It was even supposed that a criminal accusation would be preferred against him; his perseverance in the cause, if we may believe his own account, occasioned the desertion of his acquaintance, and a general alarm among his friends. He impudently asserts that the insurrection was an intrigue invented by the court to obtain a pretence for the massacre of the patriots^f; but the pretended massacre was confined to a few obscure individuals, who were killed at random by the national guards, while Brissot and the principal agents in framing the petition were left unmolested.

^f Appeal to Impartial Posterity, vol. i. p. 60. See also her observations on Amar's Act of Accusation in vol. ii. and Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 143.

^g Life, p. 70 to 73.

The forbearance displayed by the court, encouraged Brissot to offer himself as candidate to represent the city of Paris in the legislative assembly. His election was opposed by the whole power and influence of the Feuillans, and at first was doubtful, but finally, aided by the influence of Orleans, and the popularity of Petion, he triumphed over every obstacle, and was returned^b.

At an early sitting of the assembly, he was appointed secretary, and afterwards member of the committee of public instruction. The legislative assembly was so differently composed from the constituent, that it was easy for Brissot, by means of activity and perseverance, to make himself conspicuous, and appear the head of a party. In this assembly, neither of the superior orders were represented; many of the deputies were selected from the lowest and most illiterate classes of society; and the few who possessed a moderate share of erudition were inexperienced in business, ignorant of legislative forms, uninstructed in the commercial and political relations of France, and addicted to abstract speculations, and to systems which they could not fully comprehend, but which unsettled their minds, and prevented their resisting the influence of a few designing individuals. Brissot, though he had never before acted as a legislator, was qualified to take the lead in an assembly of this description. He had travelled and considered the constitutions and forms of legislation in other countries, and though his judgment was neither clear, extensive, or correct, yet as he could advance facts and assume principles with little danger of contradiction or exposure, he appeared superior to most of his colleagues. His affectation of austerity pleased the vulgar, and dis-

Member
of the
legislative
assembly.

18th Oct.
Secretary.
30th Oct.
His in-
fluence.

^b Historical Sketch, p. 418. See also *Mercure François*, Nos. du 10 et 17, et du 24 Septembre, et du 2 Octobre 1791. Life prefixed to his *Travels*, p. 13.

armed suspicion. His eloquence and style in writing were inferior to Condorcet, but his superior activity and courage gave him so many advantages, that he was soon considered the leader of a party, while Condorcet was ranked in the second class.

Conduct
in the
assembly.

I shall not again advert to his exertions in behalf of the negroes, which were unintermitting, and fatal to the colonies, or in favour of the murderers at Avignon, by whose means that territory was taken from the pope and annexed to France. Brissot was no less strenuous against the emigrants, and particularly the king's brothers, to whose prejudice he made various motions and enforced several harsh decrees^g.

Efforts to
procure a
change of
ministry.

The principal aim of Brissot's politics, was to procure a declaration of war, which he could not effect without expelling the ministers, and substituting others entirely devoted to his views. To attain this point, he exerted all his rancour and all his industry. The *Patriote François* teemed with abuse against every minister whom he could not govern, and he availed himself of the information which he gained as member of the diplomatic committee, to inflame the public mind. When Bertrand first came into administration, he was by some supposed to be a Jacobin, and Brissot believing the fact, or hoping to lure him to that party, published his eulogium, but he afterwards attacked him with his usual acrimony, and was one of his most inveterate persecutors^h. M. de Narbonne entered into a negociation to silence, or bring him to espouse the court party, but this only induced him to praise Narbonne, while he continued his attacks on the other ministers with unabated maliceⁱ. His exertions against de Lessart were unceasing, and attended with the most fatal consequences. He assailed him with daily abuse and

^g See Debates, 22d, 25th, and 28th Oct., and 9th Nov. 1791, &c.

^h Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 224. Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 454.

ⁱ Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 24.

calumny in the *Patriote François*, and at length formally denounced him in the assembly. Though this speech was a mere series of invectives, unsupported by the slightest proof, the assembly passed a decree against the minister, and he was committed to the prison at Orleans^k. It is said that avarice as well as ambition occasioned this unrelenting prosecution. Towards the end of the preceding year, de Lessart had commissioned a friend to open a negotiation with Brissot and four other deputies, who had agreed to give their voices and influence to the minister, on condition that each of them should receive six thousand livres (262*l.* 10*s.*) a-month. De Lessart considering the sum too exorbitant, the negotiation ended, and they pursued the minister with unabated rancour till they effected his ruin^l.

10th Mar.
1793.
Impeachment of de
Lessart.

The views of Brissot uniformly tended to excite a war. His motives are variously stated by himself and others. Those who consider him as having been always a republican, assert that he was instigated by a desire to ruin the king, and to introduce that form of government^m. Brissot himself affected afterwards, when the doctrine of republicanism was more popular, to prove that he was influenced by that motive alone. He thus expresses himself: "I am accused of having provoked a war. And yet without the war royalty would still subsist! Without the war we should be covered with ignominy! Without the war, a thousand talents, a thousand virtues, would not have been developed! Without this war, Savoy, and so many other countries whose chains are going to fall, would not have had their liberty.—They feared a war made by a king; short-sighted politicians! it was precisely because this perjured king was to direct

His eagerness for war.

^k Debates. Histories. See DUMOURIEZ.

^l Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 164. Bertrand relates the fact from the report of the person who managed the treaty.

^m Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 459.

" the

“ the war, because he could not direct it otherwise
 “ than as a traitor, because this treachery alone
 “ would lead him to his ruin ; it was, for this very
 “ reason, necessary to choose a war carried on by a
 “ king.” And in a note on the same passage, he
 says, “ It was the abolition of royalty I had in view
 “ in causing war to be declared. Enlightened men
 “ understood me on the 30th of December 1791,
 “ when answering Robespierre, who was always
 “ talking of treachery to be feared, I said to him,
 “ *I have but one fear,—’tis that we shall not be be-*
 “ *trayed.* We stand in need of treachery, our sal-
 “ vation is there ; for there yet exist strong doses
 “ of poison in the bosom of France, and there must
 “ be strong explosions to expel it. Great treacheries
 “ will only be fatal to the traitors ; they will be use-
 “ ful to the people ; they will cause to disappear all
 “ that yet opposes itself to the grandeur of the
 “ French nation.”

There is, however, reason to doubt whether, before the declaration of war, Brissot was so sincere a republican as to have really desired that the war should be attended with such consequences. It is asserted by other authors, that his reasons for urging his country to commence foreign hostilities were the fear of a civil war^o, and the hope that by destroying the power of the crown, ruining the constitutional party, and taking advantage of the general combustion of Europe, his own faction would acquire extensive and permanent power, and be able to dictate a government to the people, and a mode of administration to their governors^p.

^o Brissot à tous les Républicains, p. 171. London edition. These remarkable passages are also quoted by Necker. See *On the Revolution*, vol. i. p. 390, and in the *Historical Essay on the Conquests and Ambition of France*, p. 204.

^p *Nécessité de la Guerre*, par M. de Montgaillard, p. 89.

^p *Considerations on the Nature of the French Revolution*, by Mallet du Pan, p. 26, 53.

Whatever

Whatever might be his ulterior views, his exertions in the assembly, and as a journalist, uniformly tended to the same point. In his speeches, he used every artifice to inflame his hearers, and treated every government in Europe, not only monarchical but republican, with the most insulting contempt. Taking a summary view of the various nations, he represented them as utterly incapable of making the least resistance to the arms of France, and recommended the most arrogant stipulations, in the most haughty language. He asserted that the sovereignty of the people could not be bound by the treaties which had been entered into by their tyrants¹. The circle in which Popilius inclosed the king of Egypt, till he had answered the Roman demands, was a favourite metaphor, to represent the peremptory summons that France should send to all the German princes who displeased them². In several of these speeches, and in his journal, he asserted that a treaty had been made at Pilnitz for dismembering France, and detailed the particulars with the pertinacity of confident ignorance³.

The ministry which assumed the helm after the imprisonment of de Lessart, and the resignation of his colleagues, was principally formed by Brissot. Dumouriez consulted him respecting the election of coadjutors, and his choice fell on Claviere and Roland⁴. Claviere had been long acquainted with Brissot, and had assisted him in his treatise on the commerce of America with Europe. He was now appointed minister of contributions. Brissot had known Roland by character some years before the revolution, when he was inspector of commerce and manufactures at Lyons, and when Roland came

Influence
in forming
a ministry.

¹ Debates, 29th Dec. 1791.

² See Debates, 20th Oct. and 29th Dec. 1791; 17th Jan. 1792. Also Historical Essay on the Conquests, &c. p. 207.

³ See *Mercury Français*, N° du 21 Avril 1792.

⁴ *Life of Dumouriez*, vol. II. p. 177.

War de-
clared.

His influ-
ence with
ministry.

Enmity to
la Fayette.

to Paris in 1791, on a mission from that city, improved the acquaintance. Considering Roland as a convenient tool to forward his enterprises, he recommended him to Dumouriez, as minister for the home department^u. The appointment of this Jacobin administration speedily gratified the hopes of Brissot, as Dumouriez precipitated a declaration of war against the emperor.

Brissot's influence with the new ministry was as extensive as he had a right to expect. He was a constant visitor at Roland's, and, together with his friends, invited to madame Roland's cabinet dinners, where he learned the proceedings of the council, and was enabled to publish them in his journal with such comments as best suited the views of his faction^v. He directed the acts of administration, the distribution of secret service money, and the grant of contracts, and, by his increasing authority in the assembly and in the cabinet, was principal ruler in France^w. The tyrannical and violent proceedings of Brissot and his associates at length excited the indignation of Dumouriez, and produced a schism, which terminated in the dismissal of the Jacobin administration^x.

In addition to his efforts above-mentioned, and to the task in which he was continually engaged of degrading the king, Brissot was actively employed in the destruction of la Fayette. At the beginning of the revolution, he was a principal partisan of that general; it was even said, that Brissot was made president of the section *des filles St. Thomas* by his influence, and he constantly defended him in his journal^y. They continued friends, as madame Ro-

^u Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 50. vol. ii. p. 4. See also *Mercur* François, N^o du 31 Mars 1792, p. 367.

^v See DUMOURIEZ. Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 71.

^w Peltier's late Picture, vol. i. p. 111.

^x See DUMOURIEZ.

^y Sketch of the Life of Brissot, prefixed to "The Commerce of America," p. 30. *Defenseur de la Constitution*, par Robespierre, p. 10.

land avers, till the execution of martial law in the *Champ de Mars*^b; but it is more probable that Brissot, though perhaps not avowedly, became the secret enemy of la Fayette from the time that Orleans began to shew his detestation. Brissot himself does not ascertain the time when his aversion to la Fayette commenced, but says, he never saw the general from the day when the king returned from Varennes: that he had been duped by la Fayette's pretended republicanism, but had publicly broke with him on discovering his insincerity^c. Whatever might be the motives of their disagreement, or at whatever period it might originate, Brissot had no sooner become member of the assembly than he displayed the most rancorous antipathy against la Fayette, and, in pursuing him, shewed a total disregard of mercy, justice, and truth. After the general's ridiculous and unprofitable journey to Paris, the Jacobins were resolved to bring forward in the assembly an accusation which might affect his life, or at least deprive him of his command. For this purpose they had recourse to a most contemptible device. La Source made a violent speech against la Fayette, in which he pledged himself to prove, that "the general had proposed leading his troops to the capital, and that Bureaux de Pusy had made the proposition to marshal Luckner." In support of this allegation, Brissot, and five more of his faction, signed, and deposited on the table, a certificate of a conversation with marshal Luckner, in which he informed them of these facts. The transaction was arranged with great art. Luckner was absent from Paris, and could not be immediately confronted with la Fayette's accusers, and the pretended conversation was calculated to give a favorable specimen of the old man's integrity and valor. It was stated that

21st July.

^b Appel à l'impartiale Postérité, vol. ii. p. 39.

^c Brissot à tous les Républicains, p. 173.

- when de Pufy made the proposal on the part of la Fayette, Luckner had replied, "I will never lead the army I command but against our external enemies. La Fayette is at liberty to do what he pleases, but if he marches to Paris, I will march after him, and I will drub him." It was decreed that Bureaux de Pufy should attend at the bar, and that the discussion should be adjourned till Luck-
- 26th July. ner explained himself on the subject. La Fayette wrote a letter from Longwi, in which, after explaining his principles, he proceeded to the charge, and contemptuously denied the accusation. "I am questioned, he said, respecting a fact.—Did I propose to marshal Luckner to march with our armies to Paris?—To which I answer in four words—*It is not true.*" This positive denial would not have availed, had the testimony of Bureaux de Pufy been less decisive, or had Luckner been inveigled by the hope of popularity to support the accusation. De Pufy attended at the bar of the assembly, and not only by his verbal testimony, but by the production of the correspondence between la Fayette and Luckner, repelled the accusation. Guadet, one of the six who had signed the certificate, anticipating the disgrace of the faction from the detection of their falsehood, attempted to evade it by a finesse worthy of a pettifogger. "I should not be surprised," he said, "if certain persons
- 29th July. "were to prevail on Luckner to recant." A letter from Luckner was soon afterwards read, in which he positively denied that any such proposal was made to him, and lamented that such a construction should be put on his conversation. The allegation of these deputies could hardly claim belief, as they omitted to denounce this extraordinary conversation, till la Fayette and Luckner had both left Paris^d. When
- 4th Aug.

^d See Debates; Impartial History, vol. ii. p. 71.; Fennel's Review, &c. &c.

the accusation against la Fayette was finally heard in the assembly, Brissot, unabashed at his recent disgrace, and the conviction of barefaced mendacity, made a virulent speech against the general, and supported every article alledged against him by verbose declamations, and assertions without proof. The galleries applauded, but the assembly rejected the accusation.

The virulence with which Brissot assailed the court, and endeavoured, in every occurrence, to render the king and his friends unpopular, forms one of his principal characteristics, and his chief claim to the title of republican. But this circumstance is not sufficient to establish the point. He might be the enemy of Louis XVI. without desiring the destruction of monarchy, or might never have entertained a design to establish a republic, till he was convinced that no other form of government could afford scope to his ambition and love of vengeance. His efforts extended to every object by which he could effect his purpose; and while he was meditating and combining the most important plots and sanguinary projects, he did not disdain to sanction the meanest effusions of petty malevolence, and to give currency to the unfounded rumours of faction.

Exertions
against the
court.

Among the principal means of detraction to which his party had recourse was the report of a secret committee under the patronage of the queen, which met in madame de Lamballe's apartments to concert measures ruinous to the interests of France. It was asserted that the king betrayed the nation, by maintaining a private correspondence with the emperor; that he occasioned the defenceless state of the frontier, and pointed out to the enemy those places on which an attack might be made with the greatest

Pretended
Austrian
committee.

* See Debates. Histories. Moore's Journal, vol. i. p. 24. Brissot à tous les Republicains, p. 173.

probability of success; and that whole waggon-loads of gold had been seen going out of France to Vienna. This pretended secret meeting was called the *Austrian committee*. The accounts were confidently repeated, and gained belief because the king disdained to refute them. At length, however, a favorable opportunity presented itself of exposing the authors of this atrocious calumny, and subjecting them to a rigorous punishment. Two affiliated members of the Jacobin club were apprehended in the act of picking pockets, while they were declaiming in the streets against the Austrian committee. The same day, Carra, a creature of Brissot, denounced Bertrand and Montmorin at the Jacobins, as the principal agents of this imaginary committee. Bertrand preferred a complaint before la Rivière, a justice of the peace, who, after taking the necessary depositions, summoned Carra to appear before him. Carra immediately gave up Merlin, Chabot, and Bazire, as his authors. Meanwhile, the accusation preferred by Bertrand was made public, and the Jacobins were filled with terror at seeing their most dangerous fiction thus exposed, and three of their members in danger of a criminal prosecution. They employed a private agent to endeavour by means of persuasion and threats to prevail on Bertrand to withdraw his accusation, but were unsuccessful. In this stage of the prosecution, its final aim was entirely frustrated by the indiscreet zeal of la Rivière. Montmorin having joined Bertrand in his denunciation, la Rivière issued an order to arrest the three deputies, and caused it to be executed in the most violent and disgraceful manner. They were compelled to rise from their beds, and to attend him at five o'clock in the morning. They immediately complained of the attack on their inviolability; and la Rivière was 18th May. summoned to the bar of the assembly. He justified

his proceedings by referring to the constitution, but unfortunately in his defence expressed great contempt for the fable of the Austrian committee. Brissot and Gensonné were enraged that an invention which they had employed so successfully against the court should be treated as a ridiculous chimera. They asserted, that the circumstances stated in the process, and adduced by la Rivière, were false, and engaged to produce to the assembly the most evident proofs of the reality of the Austrian committee, and of the plots which were there planned².

This report was adjourned for a few days, at the ^{23d May.} end of which the two members came forward with their pretended proofs. Gensonné first ascended the tribune, but not till the crowd in the galleries had been admonished to repress every expression of approbation or disgust. Gensonné's speech, to the surprise of all his hearers, did not state a single fact tending, by the most remote implication, to prove the existence of an Austrian committee. Brissot succeeded him, and affected to deduce the history of the committee from the year 1756. He laid down as a principle, "That in conspiracies it is absurd to call for demonstrative facts and judicial proofs; that at no period have they ever been obtained, not even in the conspiracies of Catiline; for conspirators are not so unguarded in their conduct. It is sufficient that there exist strong probabilities." He entered into a long argument to prove that all ministers since 1756 had been traitors, and that the conspiracies in which they had engaged were still carried on by the court. The assembly became impatient, and frequently called for proofs; but Brissot

² Debates. Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. c. 23. Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 464. n. LA RIVIERE, in spite of the king's exertions, who, in order to screen him, directed the public accuser to take the prosecution into his own hands, was sent to the prison at Orleans, and was afterwards murdered with the rest of the prisoners. Merlin, Chabot, and Bazire availed themselves of their privilege, and the business underwent no farther investigation.

concluded his speech without proving, or attempting to prove any thing. Those who had conceived great expectations from this denunciation now looked at each other in astonishment. One member humorously moved, that the documents produced by Brissot should be printed. A general laughter in the hall and in the galleries closed the sitting. Bertrand and Montmorin sent their defence in writing to the assembly, and the Austrian committee could never afterwards be mentioned without exciting ridicule and contempt^b.

But ridicule and contempt were not sufficiently forcible to make Brissot ashamed, or induce him to retract a calumny. On the contrary, in a publication which he made after the abolition of monarchy, he recurs to the same topic, though in terms which must convince every reader that when he was inclined to speak ill of an adversary, he was not restrained by truth, probability, or consistency in the choice of an accusation. He says, "My enemies
 "accuse me of having been sold to the civil list—
 "Me who incessantly denounced that Austrian committee, with which Robespierre walked hand-in-hand during the whole term of the legislative assembly; that committee whose plots were aided
 "by Chabot, and whose existence was prolonged by
 "his ridiculous denunciationsⁱ."

Further
 efforts.

23th Feb.

Brissot's news-paper was no less violent against the royal family, and not inferior in rancor to that published by Marat. One specimen will suffice. He inserted in his journal a chapter *on pikes*, containing these expressions: "Where will these pikes be carried?—Enemies of the people, wherever you are
 "to be found!—Will they dare to present them at
 "the castle of the Tuilleries?—Yes, undoubtedly,

^b Debates. Impartial History, vol. ii. p. 31. Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 184.

ⁱ Brissot à tous les Republicains, p. 173. It is to be observed, that the cause of Brissot's recent exertions was a denunciation by Chabot.

" if

"if you are there!—Who shall command these pikes?—Necessity. Who shall distribute them? —Patriotism.—Pikes began the revolution; pikes shall finish it^k." He redoubled his efforts after the dismissal of the Jacobin administration, and openly announced the most treasonable designs. The mob, armed with pikes and hatchets, who surrounded the assembly, were instructed to vociferate *à bas le veto*^l. The favorite orators of the Jacobin club preached with additional vehemence in favor of an agrarian law, and Brissot disseminated the project of a *national convention*, to be formed by the unqualified suffrage of every man in France, and to supersede the existing legislature^m.

After the insurrection of the 20th of June, which, by the impunity of Petion and Manuel, demonstrated the strength of the Jacobin faction, Brissot and his friends resolved to make a new attempt, which, being more effectually combined, could not fail of success. Secret councils were held at Charenton; the principal republicans, or supposed republicans, were invited; and it was resolved that a new constitution, and the abolition of royalty, were absolutely necessary. The only difference of opinion was, respecting the measures to be adopted; some recommended an open attack by means of the legislature, others a secret process, in which the mob should be induced to act without any avowed instigatorsⁿ. This advice was finally adopted. To give effect to the conspiracy, the Brissotines were compelled to admit to a certain participation of their designs some men with whom they were publicly at variance, as Camille Desmoulins and Robespierre, and others with whom they could not cordially unite, as Danton

Preparations for insurrection.

^k See *Mercure François*, N° du 18 Fev. 1792.

^l *Mercure François*, N° du 9 Juin 1792.

^m *Conjuration de d'Orleans*, vol. iii. p. 174. Peltier's late Picture, vol. i. p. 37.

ⁿ Garat's *Memoirs*, p. 83.

Nature of
the plot.

Efforts of
the king's
friends.

and Fabre d'Eglantine. Their conduct towards these associates was, however, so cold, distant, and haughty, that it begat diffidence, mistrust, and rancor^o. It was probably owing to this disunion, that the plot of the conspirators was discovered to the friends of the king. It was, in substance, as follows. Three hundred men were to assemble at Petion's hotel, under pretence of guarding him from a supposed plot against his life, but, in reality, to restrain him from going to the palace, as the duties of his office required. In the meanwhile, an insurrection was to be commenced in the *fauxbourgs*; the insurgents were to march to the Caroussel, in great force, with cannon, and all the gunners who could be assembled, for the nominal purpose of protecting the brave Petion, and exterminating conspirators concealed in the castle. By means of this armed force, the conspirators were to murder the royal family, or, at least, to dethrone the king. The execution of this plot was fixed for the twenty-ninth of July. Some of the king's friends obtained the information ten days before, and Bertrand practised an ingenious device to frustrate it. He caused pamphlets to be profusely distributed in the *fauxbourgs*, under the titles of "A horrible Plot against Petion"—"New Conspiracies against the National Representation"—"The false *Sans-culottes* unmasked, &c." These pamphlets, written in the patriotic style of the day, contained a full account of the conspiracy, but, lest they should not excite sufficient attention, recourse was had to a fresh expedient. Bertrand caused the narrative, written in the same style, to be printed on

^o History of the Brissotines, by Camille Desmoulins, p. 18. Camille's expression is so strong and characteristic, that I cannot resist transcribing it. "You, Brissot, and, above all, you Petion, con-stantly receive us haughtily, sulcily, and coldly; you never could conceal that hatred with which our very presence inspired you. You stretched out a finger to us, but never the hand. You did not even think it necessary to refuse yourselves the gratifications which haughty minds derive from treating others with insolence and contempt."

single

single sheets of blue paper, like Louvet's Centinel, the title and type of which were exactly counterfeited. As soon as Louvet's paper was posted up in the usual manner, Bertrand's was pasted over it, and thus all Paris had read the account, before the Jacobins had time to prevent its dissemination. Proper measures were taken to prevent Bertrand's papers from being torn down, to protect the bill-stickers, and to replace those which might be covered by order of the Jacobins^p. This measure co-operating with other impediments, occasioned a delay of some days in the execution of the conspiracy.

In this interval, the letter written by Brissot and his associates was delivered to the king, and the proposition contained in it rejected^q. Some of the king's friends opened a private negotiation with Brissot, which was not finally determined till the day preceding the insurrection. He proposed to prevent the execution of the conspiracy, on condition of receiving twelve millions of livres (525,000*l*.) in specie, or bills of exchange, together with a passport, securing his safe retreat from France. These terms would probably have been acceded to, had the sum demanded been in the coffers of the civil list, but Bertrand expresses a reasonable suspicion that Brissot would have carried the greater part of the treasure out of the kingdom, and that the insurrection would only have been deferred a few days^r.

The existence of this negotiation accounts for some parts of Brissot's conduct which would be otherwise inexplicable. It appears certain that his faction was irresolute, and suspended between a republic and the aggrandizement of Orleans. They had nothing in view but their own personal advan-

Proposals
of Brissot.

Observa-
tions on
his con-
duct.

^p Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 8.

^q See MEMOIRS OF THE KING, &c. Also History of the Brissotines by C. Desmoulins, p. 19.

^r Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 81.

tage; a republic was a dangerous experiment, and a party whom they hated, despised, and feared, had supplanted them in the duke's favor. Had the king been less inflexible with respect to the re-admission of the Jacobin administration, they would have joined in supporting his political existence, as a puppet managed by them; or had the proposed sum been secured, Brissot and some of his accomplices would have quitted the country, leaving the king and the remains of the faction to terminate the contest as they could. This state of suspense accounts for some apparent vacillations in Brissot. He encouraged the violent proceedings of the clubs, and the furious petitions of the sections; he even refused admission to a body of petitioners who attended at the bar of the assembly to deprecate the *Dichéance*, alleging that they were the gangrened party of the section *de la Bibliothèque*; yet a few days before he declared against a republic, "Gentlemen talk," he said, "of a faction who wish to establish a republic. If these regicide republicans really existed; if men exist who aim at establishing such a form of government, the sword of justice ought to strike them, no less than the active friends of the two houses of legislature."

5th Aug.

26th July.

9th Aug.
Proceed-
ings in the
assembly.

At length the contest drew to a crisis. The acquittal of la Fayette formed the basis of insurrection. Numerous parties attended with petitions of the most inflammatory tendency, and bodies of armed men surrounded the hall of the legislature, when the question of the king's dethronement was expected to be debated. The members attached to the king were assaulted and threatened by the mob, and by the *fédérés*, who had been ordered to Paris to support the measures of the conspirators. When the royalists complained to the assembly of these insults,

* Fennel's Review, p. 294. Debates.

† Conjuración de Orleans, vol. iii. p. 204. Debates.

they

they were derided by the Brissotines, and laughed at by the galleries. The expected question, however, was deferred. In consequence of the numerous reports that arms and ammunition were concealed in the palace, Petion, the mayor, had been required to inspect the whole building. He published a *procès verbal*, in which he ascertained that there was no ground for alarm in the interior state of the palace; but maliciously refused to answer for any thing. Recorder, *procureur* of the department, attended at the bar, and informed the assembly of his fears that a violent commotion would soon take place, and Petion hypocritically declared that he could not answer for the safety of the city after midnight, at which hour it was well known that the tocsin was to be rung. The assembly, entering into the views of the conspirators, decreed that there should be no evening sitting.

At midnight the *générale* was beat, the houses illuminated, and the tocsin sounded. The greater part of the national guard, timid, indifferent, or occupied in their private concerns, did not arm for the defence of the king, while the mob and the *fédérés* were making every preparation for the attack.

19th Aug.
Beginning
of the
insurrec-
tion.

At one o'clock Petion went to the king under pretence of informing him of the state of Paris; but more probably as a spy from the faction, to observe the state of the palace, and to sound the dispositions of the soldiery. The national guards in the palace opposed his departure, and required him, as his duty directed, to head the column which was first to oppose the assailants; to order the people, in the name of the law, to disperse; and, on their refusal, to proclaim martial law. It was proposed by some to detain him as a hostage, which might have prevented the attack.

Conduct
of Petion.

Meanwhile a few deputies, alarmed by the tocsin and the *générale*, assembled in the hall; and at two o'clock

Proceed-
ings in the
assembly;

o'clock were sufficiently numerous to open the sitting. They were informed of Petion's situation, and immediately decreed that he should attend at the bar. This decree was obeyed without hesitation; but Petion, before he left the Tuilleries, wrote and delivered to Mandat, the commandant of the national guard, an order to repel force by force. From the palace the mayor repaired to the bar of the assembly, and, after a short audience, retired to his own house, which was surrounded by a guard of five hundred men.

in the
commune.

During these transactions, a new council of the *commune* was formed. A few individuals from each section, apprised of the nature and extent of the conspiracy, took advantage of the general alarm, and, under pretence that the old council had lost the confidence of the people, elected two hundred new members instead of the former. This newly-created council repaired to the hall of the *commune*, and turned out all the old members except Petion, Manuel, and Danton. Their first measure was to send for Mandat, who was making excellent preparations for the defence of the palace. At first he refused to obey the summons; but hearing it more peremptorily repeated, and ignorant of the change which had taken place, he at length complied. At his entrance into the hall of the *commune*, he was surprised to see an assembly to whom he was a total stranger; and still more surprised to hear himself accused of a design to impede the march of the people from the suburbs to the palace. He was too much confounded to reply, and was ordered to withdraw. At the top of the stairs he was shot through the head with a pistol, and at the same instant a sword was plunged into his body. Petion's order was taken out of his pocket, and Santerre was appointed commander in his stead. These events took place at four o'clock.

Prepara-
tions for
attack.

The conspirators had now obtained many advantages towards the execution of their plan. The national

tional guards, who had been selected and placed by Mandat, and who were sufficiently respectable to occasion apprehensions in the minds of the new council that their orders might not meet with ready obedience, were removed by orders from Santerre to different parts of Paris, or placed in situations where they could not second the loyalty of the royalists and Swiss in the palace, and exposed to the influence of emissaries from the faction. Thus when the king reviewed the guards in the palace, the cry of *Vive le Roi!* prevailed at first, but it was soon drowned in shouts of *Vive la Nation! Vive Petion! &c.*

At eight o'clock the king was prevailed on, by the treacherous representations of Rœderer, to repair to the assembly; or, in other words, surrender himself defenceless to his most implacable enemies. His departure was public, and known to all his friends in the palace; and he had given orders not to fire. On his departure an immense mob approached in three regular columns; they were well armed, and brought several pieces of artillery. The cannoneers and national guards all declared in their favor; the Swiss guards alone, and the gentlemen in the palace, retained their fidelity. Influenced by the king's orders, and convinced of the inutility of attempting hostile measures against a foe so numerous, this little band heard with incredible forbearance all the insults of their adversaries; they even advanced to the Marseillois, and had agreed to establish a friendship with them which should have prevented all assaults. At the moment when this treaty was concluding a firing of musketry was heard. Some of the mob were killed in attempting to force their way into the palace. Immediately five Swiss were seized and murdered before the eyes of their colleagues. Convinced by this act that they had no hopes but in a vigorous resistance, they formed in a square, and maintained a constant and well-directed fire on their
adver-

Attack
com-
menced.

adversaries, who attacked them with small arms of every description and cannon.

Alarm of
the assembly.

As soon as the noise of firing was heard, the orators in the assembly were silenced; the president put on his hat, and many of the members sought safety in flight; but were restrained by the remonstrances of their colleagues. The king, anxious to prevent bloodshed, dispatched orders to the Swiss to lay down their arms and come into the hall.

The Swiss
lay down
their arms.

M. d'Hervilly, a valiant and worthy officer, insisted on being the bearer of this order. After sustaining many insults, encountering great difficulties, and receiving a wound, he arrived at the spot where these brave and unfortunate men were performing acts of valour really prodigious. They were exposed to two fires; from their assailants in front, and from the treacherous national guard in the rear. D'Hervilly soon found that in their situation resistance must be unavailing, and therefore communicated the order. He was so well convinced of the danger of the royal family, that had the slightest probability of success appeared, he would have served his royal master against his will, and encouraged the Swiss to have defended themselves to the last extremity.

Savageness
of the mob.

Victory had now declared for the mob; and they used it with the most sanguinary ferocity. It would be disgusting and tedious to recite the horrors of that day; suffice it to say, that almost all the Swiss who laid down their arms were barbarously butchered; that the palace was invaded and pillaged, and almost every living creature found in it put to death. Murder was not confined to the precincts of the Tuilleries, but stalked abroad in all parts of Paris; many were massacred on the charge of being aristocrats, or of having written or spoken in defence of royalty. Nor perhaps was this wanton slaughter the most disgraceful part of the transaction or most offensive

offensive to humanity. The insults and injuries offered to the dead shock the feelings; and the sensation is carried to the extreme of horror when we are told that dæmons, in the shape of women, ate the half-roasted flesh of the murdered Swiss. The number slain on both sides exceeded four thousand*.

Such were the sacrifices made to the ambition, the avarice, and the intriguing spirit of Brissot. Such was the day of which he always boasted that he was the author. To counterbalance this effusion of blood occasioned by him, one single act of virtue is faintly recorded by a partial individual. It is said that he saved the lives of several Swiss by concealing them in the closets belonging to the diplomatic committee†.

The success of this day seemed to produce a general enthusiasm against royalty and nobility. Not only the statues of kings were pulled down, and those of royalists and aristocrats destroyed, but all family distinctions derived from ancestry, and all heraldic emblems, were erased from the outsides of houses, and from every article of furniture. Even the armorial bearings engraved on the most trifling toys, a snuff-box, a ring, or a seal, were obliterated; and the post-office detained all letters the seals of which were impressed with those emblems of aristocracy‡.

Brissot said in his journal, "As the exigency of affairs obliges us, according to the custom of the ancient Spartans, *to let the law sleep for a while,*"

* In the MEMOIRS OF THE ROYAL FAMILY I have related those events which relate exclusively to the king, together with the proceedings in the assembly, the suspension of royalty, &c. For the facts above recited see Debates and Histories. Histoire de la Conspiration du 10 Août, par Bigot de Ste. Croix. Account of the Revolt and Massacre by a Person present at the Time. Historical and political Account, by a national Guard. Fennel's Review. Peltier's late Picture of Paris. Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. iii. Moore's Journal, vol. i. Histoire de la Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. Eloge Historique & Funebre de Louis XVI. &c. &c.

† Louvet's Narrative, p. 17.

‡ Fench's Correspondence, p. 122.

" it

“ it is of the most pressing importance that all the
 “ municipalities should prohibit, by the assembly’s
 “ order, all aristocratic news-papers, which poison
 “ the minds of the weak, and inflame those of the
 “ wicked.” This was one of the earliest specimens of liberty given by the triumphant party. The effect of the measure was, that several newspapers were totally suppressed, the style of others altered, and all influence over the public mind transferred to the conspirators of the tenth of August.

Brissot’s
 declaration
 to the neutral powers

Brissot was employed to draw a declaration to the foreign courts on the suspension of the king. This production was read by him, and agreed to by the assembly; and is a remarkable instance of sophistry, fraud, and insolence. He impudently attributes the insurrection to the treachery of the king; and the bloodshed to the agents of the court, who converted the Tuilleries into a place of war. He asserts, that by the constitution, which foreign powers had acknowledged, the nation had a right to depose the king. He says, “ The constitution provides that the king
 “ may be deposed if he absents himself from the
 “ kingdom. Now, by a necessary analogy, this
 “ power must extend to the case of insanity, and to
 “ every other case where the welfare of the people
 “ imperiously demands the measure.” Pursuing the same chain of reasoning he adds: “ The neutral
 “ powers then cannot, without manifest inconsistency, break off or suspend their connexion with
 “ France on pretext of the king’s suspension, or the
 “ convocation of a convention; for these measures
 “ are authorized by the constitution which they have
 “ acknowledged; and to discontinue their connexion
 “ with France on account of such measures, is to
 “ interfere in the internal government of the country;
 “ an interference which they have expressly renounced.” This ridiculous argument, intended

* Peltier’s late Picture, vol. ii. p. 128.

to persuade all Europe that they were bound by every act committed by the prevailing faction in France, is followed by an inapplicable reference to the revolution in England. Brissot then proceeds to notice the anarchy supposed to prevail in France; respecting which he makes the following audacious assertions: "The representatives of the people will not stoop to refute all the calumnies vented against them in foreign countries, or to disprove that anarchy which for four years has been imputed to them. As if five and twenty millions of men could exist for four years in a state of anarchy; as if there subsisted in any government a better understanding between the rulers and the people, or a more vigorous administration, than in this pretended anarchical government; in short, as if there existed, in all Europe, a country where fewer crimes are committed, and more noble actions are displayed, than in this supposed seat of anarchy." Brissot then infers the tranquillity of France from the rashness of the rulers in dissolving the legislative assembly, and calling a national convention; and, in conclusion, claims fidelity to treaties and respect to ambassadors.

Among other untruths contained in this address, is the following: "The mere mention of a national convention would already have created a general confusion, did not a considerate love of order pervade the realm. At present the proposal unites all citizens, stifles every dissension, and combines all parties in one." Brissot well knew that a powerful faction was in a state of rivalry with that which he headed, and that through their influence

Origin and progress of his quarrel with Robespierre.

* Some of these assertions are so decidedly repugnant to truth, that they seem invented to burlesque the labours of the diplomatic committee. The editor of a Jacobin publication, Jordan's Political State of Europe, appears to have been sensible of this fact; for in translating Brissot's Declaration he has omitted the last part of the paragraph above quoted. (See vol. i. p. 502.) See the Declaration in French, in the London edition of Brissot's Tracts, p. 1.

all attempts to bring the people to a considerate love of order had proved ineffectual. The temporary union of parties which the conspiracy rendered necessary, terminated with the day which crowned the conspirators with success. For some months a division had subsisted between the Brissotines and the faction ostensibly headed by Robespierre, called the *Incorruptibles*. The personal animosity between Robespierre and Brissot is said to have originated at the time of the petition in the *Champ de Mars*^b. The news-papers of Brissot and Condorcet had been filled with denunciations and slanders against Robespierre, Camille Desmoulins, Freron, and others. These formed a party in their own defence; and repaid, with interest, the accusations and abuse of their adversaries^c. At length the Brissotines made a grand effort to depress their opponents. Brissot attended at the Jacobin club, and produced, from his pocket, a voluminous philippic against Robespierre and his party. He was followed by Guadet, who made a speech equally violent; but they had mistaken the sphere of their influence. Their invectives were not attended to with the same prepossession as in the convention; they were frequently interrupted by violent murmurs, and threatened with the lamp-iron and stoning^d. The next day but one Robespierre answered these two orators; and in his usual style of sarcastic severity overturned their accusation, and exposed them to ridicule. The club decreed the printing and distribution of his speech; and passed a resolution that he was fully acquitted of the allegations against him; that the newspapers of his antagonists were replete with defamation against his character; that their statements were repugnant to truth; and that their inculpations were

25th April
1793.
Brissot de-
nounces
Robe-
spierre.

27th.
Robe-
spierre's
reply;

and tri-
umph.

^b Louvet's Narrative, p. 11.

^c *Mercure François*, No. du 19 Mai 1793. *Défenseur de la Con-stitution*, p. 41.

^d Brissot à tous les Républicains, p. 101.

no less *belied* by public notoriety than by the constant tenour of Robespierre's conduct*. The paper-war was continued with great acrimony; till the Brissotines found, that in a state of disunion they could not hope to prevail against the court. They then made reluctant approaches towards their antagonists, and availed themselves of their assistance to excite popular tumult†. When the purpose of the insurrection was completed, Brissot and his friends were desirous to dismiss their associates in guilt without the rewards due to their exertions. To effect this end, they began to recommend order and a return to tranquillity; but they were no less mistaken in their means than in their powers. Danton, their co-operator in administration, who possessed more energy and activity than all the Brissotines, was devoted to their adversaries. Marat, restrained by no consideration, openly libelled and denounced them: Robespierre, at the head of the new *commune*, devised such proceedings as tended to set that body above the legislature; and the mob, enamoured of licentiousness, were impatient at those subtleties which affected to set bounds to insurrection, and restrain the passions by reason, without the assistance of positive law.

Junction
of the fac-
tions.

Their dis-
union.

Under these circumstances the dreadful massacres of September were projected and organised. Brissot and his faction were in danger of being sacrificed by their opponents. It is confidently reported, and with great appearance of truth, that a plan formed to imprison and murder him and his associates was renounced as too hazardous‡. At this period, the animosity between the factions was displayed in its greatest force; and a trial of strength took place be-

ad Sept.
Prepara-
tions for
massacre.

* *Défenseur de la Constitution*, p. 37. See also the decrees of the Jacobin club in the same work, p. 63 and 64.

† History of the Brissotines by Camille Desmoulins, p. 12.

‡ See DANTON, Louvet's Narrative, p. 17. Moore's Journal, vol. i, p. 330.

30th Aug.
Arrest of
Dupré.

Proceed-
ings in the
assembly.

31st Aug.
Audacity
of the com-
mune.

tween the legislature and the *commune*, in which the legislature was defeated and derided. The *commune* had issued a warrant for the arrestation of Girey Dupré, Brissot's coadjutor in *le Patriote François*, for having recommended in that journal the disarming of the citizens. Dupré evaded a caption; and the mob surrounded the house of Servan, minister at war, in which he was supposed to be concealed. A complaint was made to the assembly that these proceedings of the *commune* were unwarranted and illegal; and a decree was obtained, "that the functions of the commissioners of the *commune* were at an end; that the old municipality should be reinstated; and that each of the sections should name two citizens to form a general council till the approaching elections." Before they ventured on a step so resolute and decided, the Brissotines had attempted to divide the sections, and induce some of them to withdraw their authorities from their representatives in the *commune*. They were opposed by Tallien and the other confederate assassins with such effect, that the mob was entirely alienated from the cause of the legislature. The day after the decree had been obtained against the council of the *commune*, that body, who in contempt of the assembly had still continued in activity, headed by Petion the mayor, appeared at the bar. Tallien was their orator, and in very insolent terms remonstrated against the decree. "If you strike us," he exclaimed, "strike also the people who made the revolution. The people is now exercising its sovereignty in primary assemblies; consult the people; and let that sovereign decide our doom. You have heard us; we are in your presence; pronounce. The men of the tenth of August require nothing but justice, and will obey the will of the people alone." Lacroix, the president, replied vaguely, but without indignation, to this audacious harangue; he was conscious of his dangerous situation, and his answer conveyed general sentiments

sentiments without application. The preponderance was soon given to the council of the *commune* by the appearance of three men deputed by a mob who surrounded the hall. Their orator exclaimed, "People in the galleries; representatives of the nation; and you, Mr. President; we come in the name of the people at the door to demand leave for them to enter and behold their representatives^b who have just been heard at your bar; with them we will die; we have sworn it, we have signed it." This resolute speech, and the dread of the surrounding populace, alarmed the legislature; they agreed to a hasty compromise, which amounted to a repeal of their decree, and broke up the sitting, that they might not be compelled to receive the mob. In the evening sitting, the president and secretary of the *commune* being summoned before the assembly, they were interrogated by what right they had issued a warrant to apprehend Dupré? They answered, that the *commune* of Paris had a right to pass decrees against editors of newspapers who made false charges against the council. It was observed in reply, that this power was confined to charges of conspiracy; but they alledged, that the powers of the commissioners were unlimited, and that they were representatives of the sovereignty of Paris. This convinced the assembly that they had no longer any controul; but that the rabble, whom they had dignified with the name of Sovereign, had already assumed the character of tyrant. Brissot, in commenting on the opinions of the council of the *commune*, says, "In that case, we are under great obligations to them, as they might have ordered us to be hanged^c." Robespierre, on these events, ventured to denounce Brissot at the Jacobins for having sold France to the

^b Meaning the council of the *commune*.

^c Debates. Feltier's late Picture of Paris, vol. i. p. 280.

Examina-
tion of
Brissot's
conduct.

duke of Brunswick; but no means were taken to prove the charge*.

Brissot and his friends assumed to themselves extraordinary merit in being exempt from all participation in the massacres of September; but such pretexts are destitute of foundation. Could the whole of their assertions be proved, it would avail little with persons of sound judgment, who can never be brought to allow a claim to virtue or moderation, founded only on the omission of a single crime. The conspirators and assassins of August, even if acquitted of the crimes of September, would be so deep in blood and guilt, that their pretensions to approbation must be rejected with contempt. Brissot not being permitted to share in the ultimate benefits of the September massacre, and having been denounced but one day before they commenced, has thought proper to disclaim them, and throw the stigma on his political opponents; but an examination of his conduct will prove that he was an equal sharer in the crime. The first measures adopted after the tenth of August, tended to prevent the royalist party from ever attempting to gain an ascendancy. For this purpose all who were suspected of attachment to the court, all who had been in the Tuilleries on the ninth, and all who were pointed out by name as dangerous persons, were apprehended and imprisoned. Domiciliary visits were rigorously executed, and the prisons were filled with extraordinary rapidity. It was well known that lists had been delivered to Danton and Manuel, and that the lives of the prisoners were the objects of a pecuniary treaty; yet neither Brissot or any of his friends made any motion or observation tending to repress these proceedings. Among the prisoners were several known enemies of Brissot, whose destruction he had resolved to effect. Two

* Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 295.

of these were his old antagonist de Morande, and du Rosoy, editor of the *Gazette de Paris*. Du Rosoy was executed after a pretended trial, a week before the massacre; but the hatred of Brissot arising in news-paper jealousy, was the principal cause of his murder. De Morande was in prison; and Brissot, during the massacres of September, repeatedly inquired if de Morande was not yet killed¹. Montmorin too, the well-known object of Brissot's rancour, who had been imprisoned by his means, was murdered without any effort to save him². In the whole progress of these massacres no trait is recorded of Brissot which has a tendency to prove that he attempted to prevent them. It is said that he remained at table with Petion and his friends, and disdained even to receive the commissioners deputed by the assembly to charge him to stop the prevailing excesses³. On the third day of the carnage, he made an hypocritical application to Danton; but he appeared, even then, not solicitous to suppress the fury of the mob, but to discriminate between the innocent and the guilty⁴.

If it were possible to acquit Brissot of a criminal participation in the massacres of Paris, the murder of the prisoners who had been confined at Orleans must be ascribed chiefly to him. He principally occasioned their imprisonment by calumnious inventions; he excited the populace against them by his constant invectives against the tribunal at Orleans, constituted for the express purpose of trying them; he led the people to expect that undue influence would be employed to procure their acquittal, and pointed them out as proper objects of summary destruction. He defended and praised every motion

10th.
Massacre
of the state
prisoners.

¹ Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 217. 433. See also St. Just's report in the convention July 3, 1793.

² Ibid. vol. ii. p. 487.

³ See a quotation from Marat's Journal in Arthur Young's Example of France, &c. p. 28.

⁴ Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 430.

and petition which tended to create a prejudice against the national court at Orleans, and to excite the banditti of Paris to require their murder. Before the second of September they were removed from Orleans, and were proceeding to Paris for trial under the escort of Fournier, a West-Indian, who had rendered himself terrible by repeated acts of ferocity; but after the horrid assassinations which had recently taken place, it was judged proper to countermand these orders, and they were brought to Versailles, where fifty-two of them were barbarously butchered in open day, and in presence of the whole city, by a few assassins dispatched from Paris for the purpose^r.

Member of
the con-
vention.

Brissot was not returned to the national convention for Paris, but for the department of *Eure & Loire*, his native country. At the first meeting of the convention he was named secretary, and afterwards one of the committee to revise the constitution.

21st Sept.
Abolition
of royalty.
16th Oct.

One of the first measures of the new legislature was the abolition of royalty. Manuel proposed that the decree to that effect should be submitted to the people in primary assemblies. Brissot, seconded on this occasion by Danton, opposed Manuel's motion; and their resistance was successful^r. During the existence of the legislative assembly, or at least till after the twentieth of June, there is no reason to believe that Brissot had entirely renounced the interests of Orleans. In the national convention he was a sincere republican^r; though there is great reason to believe that instead of a republic one and indivisible, he wished to establish a federal republic on the American plan. His creatures occupied the principal posts in the administration; and he and his associates were

Examina-
tion of
Brissot's
conduct
towards
Orleans.

^r See Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 400 to 444. and p. 487. Also Moore's Journal, vol. i. p. 372. 391. 442. Histories, &c.
^q Debates.

^r Orleans, on his trial, declared that he had never spoken to Brissot since he had been a member of the convention. See *Procès des Bourbons*, vol. iii. p. 159.

reputed

reputed the most eloquent members of the convention. He had prevailed on his friend and school-fellow Petion to desert Orleans, and join the republican standard¹; and Manuel, disgusted with the duke, ranged himself under the same banner¹.

Brissot, thus powerfully supported, was opposed by Danton, Robespierre, Marat, Orleans, the Jacobin club, and the rabble of Paris. Had he dared to expose the intrigues and views of Orleans and his faction, he might have triumphed over all his opponents; but the blow which prostrated his enemies would have destroyed his friends, and probably himself. Thus, instead of boldly denouncing to the convention the plots of Orleans, Louvet and Barbaroux commenced an ill-digested and feeble attack on Robespierre; and when the discussion on Louvet's accusation had proceeded to such a point, that a complete denunciation of Orleans was expected to have formed the reply, Brissot aided the cause of Robespierre, by acceding to the motion for the order of the day². Louvet, unacquainted with all Brissot's secret motives of conduct, and believing him to have been always a republican, complains of his reluctance in denouncing the Orleans faction, and imputes it to his incredulity of the existence of such a party³.

Efforts of
opposition.

The national convention had not sat a month when Brissot was expelled from the Jacobin club. Several deputies, who were present, attempted in vain to speak in his behalf; they were over-ruled by clamor⁴. On this occasion he wrote his address *à tous les Republicains*. In this publication, he complains that his expulsion was owing to intrigue, and

12th Oct.
Brissot ex-
pelled the
Jacobins.

24th.
His
pamphlet.

¹ It is evident from Petion's conduct on the 31st of August, after the arrest of Girey Dupré, that he was not then so much attached to Brissot as to make any sacrifices in his behalf.

² See MANUEL and ORLEANS.

³ See ROBESPIERRE. Louvet's Narrative, p. 23.

⁴ Louvet's Narrative, p. 10. 24.

⁵ Brissot à tous les Republicains, p. 201. n.

speaks the language of a man surprised to find the arms which he had employed against others turned against himself. Still he appears to retain hopes of regaining the favorable opinion of the society; he enters into a vindication of his public conduct, and denies any idea of dissolving or suspending the Jacobin club, but, on the contrary, declares its existence is important to liberty. The pamphlet is not distinguished by force of language, energy of thought, or beauty of composition, but seems a weak effort to regain, by cringing submission, the popularity which had been wrested from him by violence. This publication was afterwards elucidated by three postscripts: in the first, he analyzes a position laid down by Garat, in a report to the convention, that, in every constitution, the city where the constituted bodies reside, possessed a representative and initiative power of insurrection against tyrannic authorities*. In opposition to this statement, he says, "A revolution is a fever, and I cannot perceive the necessity of taking measures to be in a continual fever for the sake of one's health." Had Brissot acted in conformity to this opinion before he acquired power, the adduction would have done him honor; but self-interest had before induced him to recommend revolutions, write a chapter on pikes, and proscribe individuals, and the same principle now actuated him to reprobate those measures. The second postscript merely mentions a decree of the convention favorable to the Brissotines; and the third is a *puff* for some party pamphlets.

Conduct
on the
king's
trial.

During the progress of the king's trial, Brissot and his party betrayed so much duplicity, and such a desertion of principle, as afforded their enemies

* The jargon of these politicians is not easily translated; to avoid the charge of misrepresentation I give the original words. "Il a soutenu, que dans toute constitution la ville où résidoient les corps constitués avoit la représentation et l'initiative des insurrections contre les autorités tyranniques." Brissot's Tracts, p. 218. London edition,

many

many advantages, and gave rise to the supposition that the Brissotine faction had been bribed to adopt a mode of conduct so inconsistent with that which their leader had formerly held ^a. The effect of his exertions, and those of his party, with respect to the king, have been already mentioned ^b. To Brissot, the promoter of the tenth of August, no credit can be ascribed for attempting to defer the king's execution till the constitution should be perfected; and such was his vote ^c.

The opposing faction did not omit to take advantage of Brissot's inconsistency, and to attack him and his party with redoubled violence. One of Brissot's principal arguments was, that by putting the king to death, the convention would exasperate all the sovereigns of Europe. At the same time he asserted that those very sovereigns bribed the Mountain to urge the fate of Louis, that they might have a pretext for declaring war against France. On these ridiculous averments, Robespierre made the following observations. "What! Brissot, you who, at the
 "period when a treacherous court had prepared a
 "plan for delivering us up to our enemies, described
 "all the potentates of Europe as reduced to the most
 "abject state of impotency, and painted all the people as flying with transport to hail the French constitution, in order to induce us to make a premature declaration of war against all Europe; is it
 "you, who dare, at this day, to threaten us with the
 "anger of kings, if we condemn their accomplice?
 "Do you not blush to offer as motives for our decrees the interest which tyrants take in the death
 "of Capet; and in a moment afterwards, to tell us,
 "that all the courts are desirous of his death, and
 "lavish of their gold to induce us to pronounce it?
 "What right have you to consider the French suffi-

Affailed
by opposi-
tion.

^a Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 496.

^b See MEMOIRS OF THE KING, &c.

^c See Debates on the three *appels nominaux*.

"ciently

“ciently stupid to believe, on your word, that the
 “piastres and guineas of despots are expended to
 “lead their compeer to the scaffold, and not to save
 “him?” Camille Desmoulins made similar observations on the same subject. Speaking of the party who frequented madame Roland’s table, he says, “Above all, it is necessary to expose to the
 “public those men, who, seated at the upper end
 “of that Circe’s table, hold the bell, as presidents :
 “That *poor Warville*, as he is called by madame Pention and madame Roland, who quarrel for him,
 “and who will, some day, fight a duel with pistols,
 “to decide who shall possess him exclusively : That
 “Brissot, grand-master of the order of intriguers and
 “*tartuffes*, whose writings and conduct are perfectly
 “inexplicable. Formerly, they were republicans
 “when there was no republic, now they are royalists when monarchy is abolished : For a while they
 “were Jacobins, when the Jacobin party was weakest, now they are Feuillans when the Jacobins have
 “acquired the ascendancy. How are we to explain
 “these things but by agreeing with general Dillon,
 “who affirmed, three years ago, in the tribune of
 “the national assembly, that Brissot was sold to the
 “cabinets hostile to France ; and that the object of
 “his mission is to confound and subvert all our proceedings?”

War with
 England.

12th Jan.
 1793.

1st Feb.

One of the first measures adopted in the convention after the murder of the king, was the declaration of war against England. Brissot had prepared the public mind for hostilities by a report on the law known by the name of the alien bill, and on the measures of defence adopted by the British government. He afterwards ushered in the declaration of war by a report, made in the name of the committee of general defence. As it is not my intention, in

^d Robespierre à ses Commettans, vol. ii. p. 43.

^e Note by Camille Desmoulins on Poultier’s speech respecting the king’s trial. See Robespierre à ses Commettans, vol. ii. p. 54.

this

this work, to enter into the politics of England, I shall not analyze these two performances. They merit attentive and frequent perusal^f.

The fall of the Brissotine faction was now approaching. From their conduct in producing the insurrection of the tenth of August, it was easy to perceive that a more desperate and active party, obtaining an unlimited influence with the Jacobins, and leading them to greater excesses than Brissot and his friends had prescribed, would produce such an opposition as must terminate in the destruction of those who assumed the merit of having founded the republic^g. The indolence of some, the feebleness of others, and the general want of union in the Brissotines, precipitated the downfall of the party. They entertained a sincere friendship for each other, founded on a high opinion of their respective talents; but no one

Contest of parties.

^f See London edition of Brissot's Tracts.

^g See Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 477. The following anecdote related by Miss Williams from the information of la Source, a violent Brissotine, a short time before his death, is interesting and illustrative. "La Source, in his meditations on the chain of political events, mentioned one little incident which seemed to hang on his mind with a sort of superstitious feeling. A few days after the 10th of August he dined in the *fauxbourg* of St. Antoine with several members of the legislative assembly, who were the most distinguished for their talents and patriotism. They were exulting in the birth of the new republic, and the glorious part they were to act as its founders, when a citizen of the *fauxbourg*, who had been invited to partake of the repast, observed, that he feared a different destiny awaited them. 'As you have been the founders of the republic,' said he, 'you will also be its victims. In a short time you will be obliged to impose restraints and duties on the people, to whom your enemies and theirs will represent you as having overthrown regal power only to establish your own. You will be accused of aristocracy; and I foresee,' he added, with much perturbation, 'that you will all perish on the scaffold.' The company smiled at his singular prediction: but during the ensuing winter, when the storm was gathering over the political horizon, la Source recalled the prophecy, and sometimes reminded Vergniaud of the man of the *fauxbourg* St. Antoine. Vergniaud had little heeded the augur; but a few days previous to the 31st of May, when the convention was for the first time besieged, la Source said again to Vergniaud, 'Well, what think you of the prophet of the *fauxbourg*?' 'The prophet of the *fauxbourg*,' answered Vergniaud, 'was in the right.'—Letters in 1794, vol. i.

had sufficient energy to direct the operations of the rest, to combine their efforts by a due subordination, and give that strength to the whole of their operations which results from a proper disposition of all the parts. They had planned the tenth of August, and gloried in the success of a treacherous machination, which, without the aid of those who could command the mob, and organize insurrection, they could not bring to maturity. From that day their influence declined, and the faction of Robespierre had been enabled to persuade the people that the Brissotines were *modérés*, aristocrats, *feuillans*, royalists, or the agents of the combined powers, as best suited their views. The attacks of the Brissotines, regulated by no digested plan, were violent in the outset, but feeble in the result; and though superior in eloquence, and possessed of all the means of popularity, they invariably lost ground in the issue of every contest.

Conduct of
Brissot.

The rashness and unrelenting temper of Brissot contributed greatly to the defeat of his party. On him all admonition was lost; he persevered in preaching morals which in his practice he was known to disregard, and in indiscriminate denunciations, which lost their effect because the people knew that they proceeded not from patriotism but from self-love. Garat, speaking of this fatal violence in Brissot, says, "How often have I conjured Brissot, whose talents acquired new energy in the heats of contest, rather to avoid putting forth all his strength than to irritate his enemies more and more by heaping confusion on their heads! To overturn the throne, said I, you excited or excused the commotions and excesses of the Parisian populace. They are now habituated to insurrection. We must win them from it. But an evil habit can never be laid aside so quickly as it is caught. If you now constantly threaten those same passions which before you always protected, because you are now be-
" come

"come prudent, the multitude will think you traitors^h."

The inexplicable conspiracy of the tenth of March, in consequence of which Brissot's journal was suppressed, and his printing-office destroyedⁱ, the ineffectual denunciation against Marat^k, and the defection of Dumouriez, completed the ruin of the Brissotines.

As a last effort to regain popularity, Brissot published his famous address to his constituents, which deserves an attentive perusal, perhaps more than any other work which has appeared since the commencement of the revolution. It is replete with such facts and illustrations as explain the system by which the Brissotines attained power, and there is hardly an objection made by Brissot to the intrigues, the views, and the crimes of the opposing party but applies with equal or greater force to his own. In this pamphlet he ingenuously avows, that "laws without execution; constituted authorities impotent or disgraced; crimes unpunished; property attacked; personal safety violated; the morals of the people corrupted; no constitution; no government; no justice, are the true features of anarchy." To whom could the destruction of the constitution, the suspension of government, the perversion of justice, and the principles of anarchy be ascribed, if not to him who had taught that it was necessary the laws should sleep; who had sanctioned insurrection against the constituted authorities; who had defended the murderers of Avignon, and the plunderers of the palace; who had imprisoned and sacrificed to his personal hatred and political prejudices innumerable victims; and who had released the populace from every moral and religious tie? Brissot, who had long maintained his own reputation by the most audacious libels,

His address to his constituents.

^h Garat's Memoirs, p. 106.

ⁱ See Peltier's late Picture of Paris, vol. ii. p. 144.

^k See MARAT.

now declaims against libellers in pathetic terms. "There is little freedom of opinion," he says, "where the fear of calumny prevails; there is still less, when that calumny may lead to a *physical* *assassination*, as it certainly does lead to moral *assassination*. For there are few men who have strength of mind enough at once to brave, I will not say death, but the incessantly renewed fear of death, and the daily torture of renewed reproach¹." A quotation from Tacitus, applied by Brissot to his adversaries, admirably describes his own pernicious ambition: *Rerum potiri volunt; honores, quos, quietâ republicâ, desperant, perturbatâ, consequi se posse, arbitrantur.*

Answered
by Camille
Desmou-
lins.

This pamphlet occasioned two speeches by Camille Desmoulins at the Jacobin club, which were afterwards incorporated, and published under the title of "History of the Brissotines." In this work, Camille exposes the pretended patriotism and disinterestedness of Brissot and his adherents. By an ingenious application of Brissot's argument in proof of the Austrian committee, that conspiracies may be proved by strong probabilities, he affects to demonstrate that Brissot is an accomplice with Dumouriez, agent of the combined powers, and a federalist; traces Brissot's connection with Orleans, and describes the effect of that connection on his public conduct, particularly at the time of the petition in the *Ghamp de Mars*^m. Desmoulins also asserts, that Brissot was intimately connected with Dumouriez, and *stole* a letter written by that general respecting the king, lest it should endanger his lifeⁿ; but there is not sufficient reason for believing this account, as it appears that he had really quarrelled with Dumouriez before his desertion^o.

¹ Published by Stockdale, 1794. See also Playfair's History of Jacobinism, p. 564, and note p.

^m See History of the Brissotines, published by Owen, 1794.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 31.

^o Garat's Memoirs, p. 214.

The events of those days which produced the fatal decrees against the Brissotines, are related in another article^p. The timidity and division of counsel which had before so materially injured, now effectually ruined them. An insidious proposal was made in the convention by Barrere, that the members against whom the petitions of the sections were directed, should give in their dismission. To this Lanjuinais made a reply so spirited, that there was a probability, had Brissot been at his post, and had all the party acted in a consistent and uniform manner, that the fortune of the day might have turned against their adversaries. At this critical moment, when vigorous action was necessary, they were arranging measures at Guadet's house, and left their enemies an easy triumph. Deceived by a false report, many of them made their escape, in the hope of exciting a civil war in the departments, and suffered the decree of arrestation to pass without opposition^q. The departments, however, were indifferent to their fate, and averse to risking their lives and properties in their cause^r.

31st May.
1st and 2d
June.
Decree of
arrestation.

Flight of
the Brisso-
tines.

Brissot was among the fugitives. He obtained a passport for Switzerland^s, but was speedily apprehended. He was confined in the prison of the Abbaye, where he, for some time, inhabited the apartment which had been previously tenanted by madame Roland, and was afterwards allotted to Charlotte Corday^t.

Brissot ap-
prehended.

During the contest excited by the fugitive Brissotines in the departments, the Mountain took no measures for bringing to trial those who were imprisoned in Paris; but as the feebleness of these efforts became daily more apparent, the courage of the triumphant

Proceed-
ings in the
conven-
tion.

^p See ROBESPIERRE.

^q Lover's Narrative, p. 48. Miss Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. i. p. 77.

^r Residence in France, edited by John Gifford, vol. i. p. 231.

^s See Amar's report to the convention, Oct. 3d, 1794.

^t Appel à l'Impartialité. Postérité, vol. ii. p. 37.

July 8. party increased. At length St. Just made a report from the committee of public safety to the convention, on the transactions of the thirty-first of May and the following days, in which he traced the crimes of Brissot and his faction. He truly described Brissot as a man too suspicious to have accomplices, but always dexterous enough to have adherents and blind partisans. The rest of the report is a confused mass of truth and falsehood. The convention passed some severe decrees against Brissot's friends. After the assassination of Marat, Couthon moved that the revolutionary tribunal should immediately proceed to the trial of the imprisoned deputies, and prosecute the fugitives as outlaws; but his motion was not carried. The next day, however, Billaud Varennes brought up a fresh report, containing many additional charges against them^u.

Projected
massacre.

It is said, that the committee of public safety, fearful of bringing Brissot and his party to a trial, projected an insurrection in which they were to have been massacred, and that the tenth of August was fixed for the perpetration of the plot. Money and liquor were profusely distributed, but the *fédérés* declared loudly, that they had not come to Paris to take up the trade of murderers, and nine hundred of them, particularly the Bretons, quitted the capital on the eighth and ninth, after receiving the money with which the committee intended to bribe them. Thirty-seven sections of Paris guarded the prisons for seven days, and declared that they would defend them against the approach of all assassins^x. Besides the information which the author of this statement was known to possess, the account seems highly probable from many attendant circumstances. The Mountain dreaded the talents of the Brissotines, whose friends were still numerous; and Brissot had

^u Debates.

^x Suite de l'Etat de la France, par Montgaillard, p. 67.

declared that he held a secret in his hands, which would expose the weak slaves of his profligate opponents, and would prevent their escaping the rigorous judgment of posterity, even though they might be willing to stand witnesses of their own ignominy⁷. It may also be observed, that the violent motions and reports against the Brissotines were made just at the period when the *f. dirés* were in Paris to celebrate the fourteenth of July.

Foiled in this attempt, the Mountain resolved to prepare the way for the destruction of their adversaries, by increasing their unpopularity, or, at least, by causing such an inundation of petitions and addresses, as should persuade the people in the departments that all classes in the capital were convinced of their delinquency. It is well observed, that this was "a remarkable, a very remarkable thing in the moral order of events!—They fell in 1793 under the same blows, and by the very same manœuvres and offensive arms which they had employed to ruin Louis XVI. and to effect his deposition⁸."

Further
measures.

When the public mind was sufficiently prepared, Amar made a report of the act of accusation, and traced every part of their conduct to which an objection could be alleged, since the beginning of the revolution. This act of accusation was a burlesque on justice, and might have been termed unprecedented, but for the absurd denunciations which Brissot himself had made against de Lessart, Montmorin, and Bertrand, and the still more atrocious accusations against the king, on which he had wickedly pronounced the verdict *Guilty*.

3d OR.
Amar's
report.

Immediately after this report had been made, Brissot and his fellow-prisoners were committed to the Conciergerie. They were ordered to be tried before the revolutionary tribunal. Garat endeavoured

5th.
Brissot sent
to the Con-
ciergerie ;

⁷ Brissot à ses Commettans, p. 99.

⁸ Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. p. 429. See Debates on the 5th and 29th September, and 21st October.

voured to prevail on Robespierre to appoint a different court, but in vain.

24th Oct.
tried;

When the accused deputies were brought to their trial, Brissot was placed on an elevated seat with his partisans around him; he appeared collected and tranquil. In the progress of the trial, the president of the tribunal was so much embarrassed by their objections, by their sarcastic replies to his questions, and by their acuteness in cross-examining the witnesses, that he wrote to the convention. He said, that nothing could equal the loquacity of the accused; that the trial had lasted five days, and only nine witnesses had been heard; that there was no reason why four hundred witnesses might not be brought forward, and, in that case, there would be no hopes of finishing. The convention passed a decree to abridge those forms which enchain the consciences of jurymen, and stifle conviction, and by which the jury were enabled at any time to declare themselves sufficiently enlightened, and pass sentence on the prisoners. The jury immediately declared the process at an end, and condemned Brissot and all his associates to the scaffold.

29th.
con-
demned.

Observa-
tions.

If the assertion of Louvet be true, that part of the evidence and some of the speeches are suppressed in the printed report, it becomes impossible to decide on the merits of the trial. It appears, however, that Brissot could not have been condemned on any principles but those of his own recommending, that conspiracies need no proof, and that the law may occasionally be allowed to sleep.

His be-
haviour,

Brissot behaved with great courage, and retained his presence of mind during the whole of his trial. His deportment in the night after his condemnation

^a Garat's Memoirs, p. 231.

^b Playfair's History of Jacobinism, p. 397.

^c Louvet's Narrative, p. 331.

^d Histories. New Annual Register for 1793, p. 200.

is highly extolled*. Allowing for the ardent colouring of friendship, and the glow of party panegyric, the account is not improbable. The fear of death was not among Brissot's foibles, and the superiority which that trait gives to the character of a man who engages in revolutions probably contributed to raise him to the head of a faction. The whole party passed the night in singing and conversation.

The next morning they were conducted to the guillotine, amidst the customary shouts of the mob, they themselves joining in the exclamation *Vive la République*! Brissot suffered last, and continued to retain his presence of mind and composure. The execution was completed in thirty-seven minutes. Their property was confiscated.

and execution.

The character of Brissot is so differently delineated, that it is difficult to reduce the various descriptions into one consistent portrait. As an author his fame was never extensive, and even his celebrity in his political career has not been able to attract curiosity towards his voluminous productions. He is said to have been a less elegant writer than Condorcet; but elegance is not one of the properties by which his style is distinguished. On the contrary, it is abrupt, perplexed, and often below the level of correct composition. Garat says, he sought for "ideas in books and languages more than in his own mind. He wrote more than he meditated." This observation accounts for the want of method and incorrectness which his writings often betray. Madame Roland says, "He wrote with extreme facility, and composed a treatise as another would compose a song: hence the discriminating eye detects in his works the hasty touch of a quick and often light mind." This

Brissot's character, as an author.

* *Memoirs d'un Dérénu*, p. 40. Translated by Miss Williams in her *Letters* in 1794, vol. i. p. 163.

† *Playfair's History of Jacobinism*, p. 599. *Histories*, &c.

‡ *Moore's View*, vol. ii. p. 380. § *Memoirs*, p. 83.

¶ *Appeal*, vol. i. p. 53.

rapidity accounts for, though it does not excuse many of his errors. Great part of the information contained in his essay on the commerce of America was derived from Claviere, but on the whole, it is not a production of great merit. His *American Travels* are written in a negligent style, and appear chiefly calculated to impress the minds of his countrymen with exalted notions of American independence and simplicity of manners; to recommend the abolition of slavery, and the use of the maple instead of cane sugar. As a book of travels it excites no particular interest, and the perusal affords little gratification to curiosity. Brissot probably owes to the sentiments contained in this work, the compliment paid him by Garat; that "he would have consented to bury himself in everlasting obscurity, if he might have become the Penn of Europe; if he might have converted mankind into a congregation of Quakers; if he might have made Paris a Philadelphia." I have already discussed Brissot's political works published in the course of the revolution; they seem to have been produced as occasion prompted, and published in defiance of truth and consistency. His *Life*, in writing which he claims credit for a great share of candour, is a model of duplicity and equivocation.

Person.

Manners.

Brissot was a little man, of an intelligent countenance, but delicate frame". He affected great plainness in his attire, and was not displeased to be taken for a Quaker. Madame Roland, who writes his panegyric, often, without regard to truth, and with an apparent insensibility to inevitable confutation,

* Garat's *Memoirs*, p. 55. This opinion of Garat seems devoid of meaning. How could a man be contented with obscurity who circulated a celebrated name, who was desirous of reforming a metropolis, and of converting mankind?

† Miss Williams says, that Brissot, during his last captivity, wrote his own life, in the manner of Rousseau's *Confessions*; she has given an extract from the MS. and announced that it was intended to be speedily published. I believe the intention has never been fulfilled. See Miss Williams's *Letters* in 1794, vol. iii. p. 59. n. and p. 210.

‡ Moore's *Journal*, vol. ii. p. 235.

says,

says, "The simple manners, natural negligence, and ingenuous frankness of Brissot, appeared in perfect harmony with the austerity of his principles; but I found in him a sort of levity of mind and disposition which was not equally suitable to the gravity of a philosopher." She adds, "It is not in human nature to combine more complete disinterestedness with greater zeal for the public welfare, or to pursue the general good with more entire forgetfulness of self." This part of her eulogium is subject to many doubts. Ambition was Brissot's ruling passion rather than avarice; but in the course of his Memoirs there are several instances which prove that he did not despise wealth, either as an object of possession or as the means of power. He was frequently accused of venality, and in answer he referred to the simplicity of his manners, and the want of splendour in his household. He quotes Horace,

Disinterestedness.

Ambition.

Poverty.

"Non ebur, neque aureum
"Meâ renidet in domo lacunar."

It is, however, easy to suppose that a man emerging from obscurity, and raising himself to the head of a faction, might have dissipated large sums whenever he received them, without contemning riches, or intending to continue indifferent to his private fortune.

Among other infamous courses of life imputed to Brissot by his adversaries, it was asserted that he had been a pick-pocket, and this story obtained such general belief, that *brissoter* was used in France as a term of synonymous import with *pickpocket*. I cannot, however, discover any fact tending to confirm this report. Next to ambition, Brissot was characterized by an unrelenting and rancorous disposition. This was displayed in his virulent prosecutions of

Reputed thief.

His rancour.

^a Appeal, vol. i. p. 32.

^c Life, p. 85.

^b Fennel's Review of Proceedings, p. 410.

^d Miss Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. iii. p. 39. n. See also History of the Brissotines by Camille Desmoulins, p. 31.

ministers who refused to pay, journalists who refused to praise, and deputies who refused to join him. Madame Roland has daringly asserted, that "Brissot was incapable of hatred: you would say his mind, with all its sensibility, possesses not sufficient firmness for a sentiment of such energy." This hypocritical method of decrying a person for the want of a bad quality, is a thin veil to conceal truth, and prevent inquiry. Garat, though likewise a panegyrist of Brissot, hints at his irritability. "His passion for truth, being more ardent than well-grounded in sound reason and true discernment, often entangled him in those quarrels, in which, at first, it is only the doctrine that is the matter of contest—afterwards the dispute became wholly personal." This observation does no credit to Brissot's philosophy, and impeaches madame Roland's assertion. Danton, however, seems to have justly appreciated Brissot in this respect, when he declared, that "a fraternity with either faction was the brotherhood of Cain, and that Brissot, like Robespierre, would have condemned him to the guillotine."

Examples. De Lessart, Montmorin, Bertrand. a. De Morande du Roüy. 3. Jaucourt and Jonneau. See Peltier's late Picture of Paris, passim.

* *Appel*, vol. i. p. 33.

Mémoires, p. 83.

* *Membres d'un Détenu*, p. 76.

CHABOT.

BEFORE the revolution, Chabot was a Franciscan or Capuchin friar^a; and if credit may be given to his own declaration, he had before the year 1788 manifested a contempt for the mummery of popery^b. To what exact point this manifestation of contempt extended cannot be ascertained, but if report may be credited he was not distinguished by a strict observance of his vows of chastity^c. When the revolution commenced he threw off his frock, and, under the patronage of the Abbé Gregoire, became a furious Jacobin, and leader of the clubs at Blois. He was also Gregoire's episcopal vicar, with a salary of two thousand livres (87*l.* 10*s.*) a-year^d.

A Capuchin friar.

Through the influence of the Jacobins he was elected member of the legislative assembly for the city of Blois, and shewed his gratitude to his patrons by presenting his homage to the club immediately after his arrival in Paris^e. Though he spoke frequently, his eloquence procured him little applause

Member of the legislative assembly.

^a Chabot is said by Mr. Fennel to be the son of a baker, and to have distinguished himself by libertinisms of the most loathsome and incestuous kind; but as that gentleman appears to have been misinformed in most of his personal anecdotes of the Jacobins, I do not, on this occasion, quote him with so much confidence as on other topics. See Review of Proceedings at Paris, p. 430.

^b See his speech in the convention 9th Nov. 1793.

^c Mercure François, No. du 10 Septembre 1791, p. 169.

^d Barruel's History of the Clergy, Part I. p. 82. Mercure François, No. du 1 Octobre 1791, p. 72. Also see his speech above-mentioned.

^e Mercure François, Nos. du 10 Septembre, et du 1 Octobre 1791.

- or notice, except from the galleries. It was calculated to give currency to all the untruths invented by the Jacobins, and practicability to all their schemes. He rendered himself conspicuous on the first meeting of the legislative assembly, when M. Cerutti made a speech as a preface to his motion of thanks to the constituent assembly, for their constitution, which he affirmed to be *immortal*, and to have saved and regenerated the French empire. Chabot began his animadversions by declaring that he thought it too much to assert that the constitution was the most perfect possible; but was silenced by the disapprobation of the assembly and galleries^c. The lesson he received on this occasion, taught him to be more guarded in his opposition to popular opinions, and he was afterwards generally on the strongest side. He was made a member of the committee of inspection decreed by this assembly^d.
- His principal characteristic was an unceasing hatred of and contempt for the king and royalty, which he displayed on the most frivolous as well as the most important occasions. He omitted no opportunity of insulting the degraded monarch; he was the first who stood in his presence with his hat on^e, and was one of the deputation of four who excited a tumult in the assembly, by their ridiculous complaint that the king had received them without having both the folding doors of his presence chamber opened^f. He was actively engaged in circulating the report of an Austrian committee, and on this point carried his audacity to so great an excess, that M. la Riviere, a worthy magistrate of Paris, arrested him, together with Merlin and Bazire. The Jacobins raised a furious clamour in behalf of their colleagues, and obtained their discharge.

^c Debates. Necker on the Revolution, vol. i, p. 326.

^d Debates. ^e Goudemetz's Epochs.

^f Debates.

charge.

charge². Chabot made a violent speech in the assembly on the dangers he had incurred with respect to his person and fortune, in frustrating the intrigues of the court, and fulfilling his duties as a member of the committee³. 19th May.

He was at this period one of the cabal who held their treacherous assemblies at the house of Roland, where the Brissotines were plotting the ruin of the court. At one of these conferences Chabot displayed his cowardice and hypocrisy in a remarkable manner. He suggested a wish that the court would attempt the lives of some of the patriotic deputies, as it would excite an insurrection, and made a long harangue on the advantages which would result from such an act. Grangeneuve, who listened attentively to his discourse, took an opportunity of addressing him in private. He said, he was struck with his reasoning, but the court was too *sagacious* to afford such an expedient; the faction must supply it for themselves. "Do you," added he, "find a man "to strike the blow, I will be the victim." The Capuchin affected to be charmed with the heroism of this resolution, he insisted on sharing the glory, and it was finally agreed, that as two victims would be better than one, he should procure assassins, Grangeneuve and he should be murdered, and the disgrace of having perpetrated the action should be thrown on the court. This iniquitous scheme was frustrated by the cowardice of Chabot; he fixed a time for the execution of the project, Grangeneuve attended, but neither priest or executioner came; the tragi-comic farce of mock patriotism was not played, and the persecuted court escaped one projected calumny⁴. But though Chabot occasioned

His
treachery
and cow-
ardice.

² Impartial History, vol. ii. p. 30. Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 466. Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 178. 181. See also Le Défenseur de la Constitution par Robespierre, p. 85. See BRISOT.

³ Debates.

⁴ The story is told in this manner by madame Roland, Appeal, vol. i. p. 141.

the failure of this villainous scheme, he afterwards boasted of it, and assumed to himself all the honors of patriotism. It is not a little extraordinary, that both these conspirators, who thus affected a supernatural degree of patriotism, had given proofs of their pusillanimity. Grangeneuve was caned by M. Jaucourt, a member of the assembly, and made his complaint to the legislature; Chabot escaped the same discipline by remonstrating, that it would reflect no honor on a colonel to beat a poor Capuchin.*

29th June.
Preaches
insurrec-
tion.

In the evening which preceded the dreadful twentieth of June, Chabot was amongst the most active promoters of the insurrection; he harangued the populace from the pulpit of the church *des Enfants Trouvés*, upwards of three hours, uttering the most inflammatory calumnies, and exciting the people to violence. The reason he afterwards assigned for his conduct, was his desire to give the insurrection a proper bias, and to prevent its being made a mere engine for the advancement of a few intriguing individuals, who had been dismissed from the ministry, and were determined to recover their posts at any rate. This assertion was not true as to Chabot himself, for he continued his attachment to Roland for some time afterwards; but it affords a sufficient illustration of the treachery of those unprincipled intriguers.

30th Aug.
Active
exertions.

Between that day and the more fatal tenth of August, plots of the darkest kind and of the most extensive nature were formed and carried on by the Jacobins. Chabot was active in giving them effect; he was employed to keep alive the popular fury by every calumny which their malice could devise and

* Peltier's late Picture of Paris, vol. i. p. 306. Fennel's Review of Proceedings, p. 212.

† Conjunction de d'Orléans, vol. iii. p. 175. Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 223. Fennel's Review of Proceedings, p. 68.

‡ Robespierre à ses Commettans, vol. i. p. 96.

his

his impudence could utter. He made violent exclamations at the Jacobins against the court and against La Fayette, who at that time appeared its protector. He openly declared that general a traitor, and that every good Frenchman ought to shoot him like a mad dog^a; and asserted, that the national guards who remained attached to the king were *chevaliers du poignard* in disguise^b. He openly recommended the extermination of all the major branches of the royal family; "and as to the boy," meaning the Dauphin, he said, "the apothecary must purge the country of him^c." On the tenth of August, when the suspension of royalty was decreed, Chabot moved that a man who had been outrageous in insulting the king on the twentieth of June, should be the bearer of this news to the people. The man was called CLEMENT, and the reason given for this preference was the humane quality implied in the name; but as Clement was the name of the assassin of Henry III. the association of Chabot's ideas will be more naturally accounted for^d. He displayed his rancour and unfeeling insolence while the unfortunate royal family were in the box of the *Léographe*. He said that all the bloodshed of that day and all the miseries of the country were owing to the perjury of that traitor, and illustrated his speech by pointing at the king^e. He well knew that the bloodshed of the day was preconcerted by the faction to which he was attached, and that the massacres were substituted for the pitiful contrivance plotted by him and Grangeneuve.

His assistance in these two conspiracies rendered him a worthy confidant of the projectors of the September massacres. He joined Robespierre's party

2d Sept.
Assistant
in the
massacres.

^a Fennel's Review of Proceedings, p. 455.

^b Historical Account of Events by a National Guard, p. 3.

^c Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. lii. p. 266.

^d Debates. See Fennel's Review of Proceedings, p. 94.

^e Debates. *Mauro's Journal*, vol. i. p. 99.

against

against Roland, and was admitted to share the direction of that day. Beaumarchais, the well-known dramatic author, who had ridiculed Chabot as a *Capucin defroqué*, nearly fell a victim to his revenge'. During the carnage the assembly sent Chabot as a commissioner to the Abbaye to check the effusion of blood; he went to the prison, remained for a while a tranquil spectator of the murders committed by a handful of hired assassins, and on his return made a pompous report, that he had passed under an arch of ten thousand swords, with a view to inspire the belief that all Paris was assisting in these abominable scenes'. A report having prevailed that the crown of France was to be offered to the duke of York or the duke of Brunswick, Chabot moved, that all the members of the assembly should take an oath never to permit such an event, and he was deputed to harangue the sections on the subject".

4th Sept.

Exerts
himself for
Marat.

He was elected member of the national convention for the department of *Loire et Cher*, so that he still continued to represent his old constituents. When secure of a seat himself, he prepared the people of Paris for the reception of Marat as a deputy, by a speech at the Jacobin club replete with absurdity. He argued that Marat was not sanguinary, because he proposed to leave ninety-nine survivors for one person murdered; that he was not an incendiary, because he did not propose to *burn* the property of those he plundered, but to *give* it to the *sans culottes*".

Married.

Chabot was considerably enriched by the plunder of the prisoners; in order to conceal the true source of his wealth, he accepted the offer of the two Freys, Dutch bankers, and married their sister. These Dutchmen, sensible of the perilous state of their pro-

* Peltier's late Picture of Paris, vol. ii. p. 247.

† Idem, p. 347. Barruel's History of the Clergy, Part iii. p. 125. Debates.

‡ Debates.

§ Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 454.

perty,

perty, thought the protection of a deputy cheaply purchased with two hundred thousand livres (8750*l.*)⁷. But the tie of matrimony could hardly bind him who had shewn so manifest a contempt for every other; his luxurious and abandoned life were as great a reproach to morality, as his sentiments and appearance were to humanity and decency⁸. He was remarkable for affecting a slovenly, and even dirty appearance; he vied with Marat for precedence in filthiness⁹.

In the convention he was a zealous Mountaineer, the follower of Marat in every scheme of plunder, disorganization, and murder. In the trial of Louis XVI. he voted for death with execution of the sentence in four-and-twenty hours, and moved that the king should be interred not in the tomb of his ancestors, but in the usual burying place of the section¹⁰. He was employed to inflame the populace against persons and opinions, adversaries to the views of his faction. He was an active promoter of the insurrection which drove the Brissotines from the convention¹¹; he denounced la Source, and afterwards Condorcet¹². He gave an account to the legislature of the assassination of Marat, and denounced Fauchet and Duperret, as accessaries of Charlotte Corday, to which he is said to have been instigated by Robespierre¹³. He greatly contributed to the triumph of the Mountain over the Brissotines, and appeared as a witness against those deputies on their trial. After their execution, he lived in the most profligate extravagance and barefaced peculation; he publicly received money for procuring the enlargement of prisoners and for passports, and extorted large sums

Conduct
in the con-
vention.
16th Jan.
1793.
21st Jan.

31st May.

1st June.
8th July.
14th July.

⁷ New Annual Register for 1794, p. 355.

⁸ See Tableau des Prisons sous Robespierre.

⁹ Moore's Journal, vol. i. p. 454.

¹⁰ Garat's Memoirs, p. 131.

¹¹ Conspiracy of Robespierre, p. 118.

¹² Debates.

¹³ Debates.

His em-
barrass-
ment.

by threatening and confining those who were able to pay for their safety or liberty^f.

Robespierre, who permitted his inferior agents to render themselves odious by every species of corruption, that he might find less obstacles to their destruction when spleen, jealousy, or fear rendered it expedient, at length withdrew his countenance from this worthless apostate. Chabot was reduced to a situation of extreme peril; he was overloaded with plunder, of which he dared not avow the possession, but affected to aver that he had no property except what was settled on his wife^g. His connection with the two Freys, which was said to extend to some stock-jobbing transactions^h, augmented his embarrassment. He was obliged to oppose some decrees moved by Robespierre's confidants against the rich and against foreigners, but he sought to make amends by his exertions against the suspected, and against the priests, whom Robespierre had ceased to persecute with his accustomed malignity. Chabot opposed the arrest

20th Sept.

of the bankers, and moved that they might still be at liberty to carry on their business. He also moved, 16th Oct. that the foreigners should not be sent to prison without previous examination. In both these efforts he was over-ruled, and on the latter occasion was sharply reprimanded by the tyrant. He now became conscious of his approaching destruction, yet he endeavoured to avert his fate by voluntary sacrifices and exaggerated professions. He made a speech to the convention, in which, with a view to prove his patriotism, he recapitulated the transactions of his early life; he renounced his salary as episcopal vicar, with

9th Nov.

^f Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 170. *Etat de la France*, p. 70. He had always been remarkably venal and rapacious, and is said to have received from M. de Narbonne, in the course of his administration, fifty thousand crowns (6250 *l.*) for pretended services. *Conjuration de d'Orleans*, vol. iii. p. 169.

^g Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 74.

^h See Amar's report, 16th March 1794.

a declaration that he would not have held it so long had he not been apprehensive that another incumbent could not be found equally willing to renounce it for the public good. He said that his wife's fortune was sufficient to supply the moderate wants of two well-meaning republicans; that his wife was as good a republican as himself; and that if even her property was necessary to the good of the state she was ready to resign it¹.

This speech was applauded by the galleries; it produced no immediate animadversion, but it could not prevent the destruction of the orator. He was soon afterwards arrested, and sent to the Conciergerie, where, intending to poison himself, he swallowed a dose of corrosive sublimate, insufficient to destroy him, but which produced the most excruciating tortures. He was recovered in the infirmary of the prison, tried with Danton and the rest of that party, on a ridiculous charge of having conspired to effect a counter-revolution, and on one more true, though as little proved, of corruption. He behaved with firmness on his trial, and went to the guillotine without exhibiting any symptoms of fear or repentance². His fall excited no commiseration, for Amar had scarcely brought up the report against him before most of the sections of Paris, and deputations from surrounding places, attended at the bar to congratulate the convention on the probability of his execution.

16th Nov.
Arrested.

5th April
1794.
Tried and
executed.

¹ Debates.

² Tableau des Prisons sous Robespierre.

ANACHARSIS CLOOTZ.

Born in
Prussia.

Changes
his name.

Becomes a
Jacobin.

CLOOTZ was born in the dominions of the king of Prussia, is said to have been of noble extraction, and to have possessed a considerable estate. He is called *Anacharsis*, in compliance with his own whim, for he was christened *Jean Baptiste*¹. At the beginning of the revolution he used to write letters which were printed in the newspapers with the signature of *Clootz the Prussian*; afterwards he assumed the name of *Val de Grace*, which he borrowed from the section in which he lived; lastly, he took the name of *Anacharsis* from the Scythian philosopher, and superadded the title of *Orator of the Human Race*^m.

Under this ludicrous title, and by the recommendation of some writings which might have passed for the effusions of a bedlamite, he attracted the notice of the Parisians. He was a noisy member of the Jacobin club, and was said to be the agent of similar societies forming in Prussiaⁿ. This report is equally improbable with the assertion of Brissot, that he was an agent of the king of Prussia at Paris, and that the monarch preserved his estates for his use^o.

¹ See Brissot à ses Commettans, p. 69. Miss Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. ii. p. 18.

^m Playfair's History of Jacobinism, p. 279. Historical Essay on the Ambition and Conquests of France, p. 161.

ⁿ Peltier's late Picture of Paris, vol. i. p. 380.

^o Brissot à ses Commettans, p. 69. n.

When

When he was so well known that no absurdity would excite surprise, he was employed by the Jacobins, before the grand confederation, to give importance to the festival by a ridiculous prelude. He collected a troop from the dregs of the people, consisting of Savoyards, pedlars, teachers of languages, and vagabonds, whom he habited in masquerade dresses, partly supplied from the wardrobe of the opera house, to represent all the nations of the world. At the head of these he himself attended, and delivered a bombast speech, which received the greatest applauses from the assembly^a. This ridiculous attendance and speech were used as preparatives to the abolition of titles, which was proposed the same day^b. The effects were not so honorable to Anacharsis, as advantageous to his employers; his dwelling was, the next day, beset by a clamorous mob, who demanded payment for loss of time and the hire of their dresses; he made an attempt to transfer the debt to the minister, M. de Liancourt, but was, in the end, obliged to enter into a compromise^c.

19th June
1790.
Attends
the assembly.

Clootz continued to write, to make speeches at the Jacobins, and to appear occasionally in the assembly. He was amongst the earliest republicans^d, and when the declaration of war against the emperor was in agitation, sent a letter to the legislative assembly, requesting leave to present his ideas at the bar, and assuring them that the permission would be no loss to the assembly, and to the world at large. This

11th Dec.
1791.
His letter,

^a Historical Sketch, p. 221. Miss Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. ii. p. 19. This lady says the scene took place soon after the 10th of August 1792; but that is a mistake. Playfair's History of Jacobinism, p. 221. Historical Essay on the Conquests and Ambition of France, p. 157.

^b Debates. Historical Essay, &c. p. 162. Playfair's Jacobinism, p. 230.

^c Miss Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. ii. p. 19. Lettre d'un Français à un Anglais, p. 41. n.

^d Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 131.

letter, the brevity of which was the only compensation for its excessive absurdity, was dated, "The capital of the globe, in the third year of liberty," and signed "Anacharsis Clootz, orator of the human race". He attended the assembly the next day, and made a speech of two hours, which was not inferior in absurdity to his letter, and contained many insulting reflections on all the kings in Europe. It was, however, highly applauded by the assembly and the galleries, and graciously answered by the president.

30th Jan.
1792.
Writes to
the assembly.

Encouraged by this favourable reception, he next addressed a letter to the assembly, beginning thus, "*The orator of the human race, to the legislators of the human race—greeting.*" The purport of the letter did not disappoint those who expected a copious display of folly and presumption. He presented to the assembly a book of two volumes, intitled, "*La Certitude des Preuves du Mahometisme, et les Vœux d'un Gallophile.*" He informed the assembly, that he had invented a *moral wild-fire*, made a tender of his literary fortune, and said, he only waited for the appearance of the manifesto of France against tyrants, to offer his pecuniary fortune and his life. This address was too extravagant to obtain honorable mention; the motion to that effect was set aside by the order of the day".

21st April
Makes a
speech at
the bar.

War being declared, and the Jacobin ministry appointed, he again appeared at the bar, and made another furious harangue, in which was the following observation: "God is powerful, and asserts his will—We are powerful, and assert ours.—Free men are the gods of the earth!" At the end of his speech he offered *at the shrine of the constitutional deity* a copy of his book called *La Republique Universelle*, and twelve thousand livres (525 l.).—This

Debates.

Debates.

patriotic

patriotic donation procured him the honors of the fitting, and mention in the bulletin ^a.

The book which he presented to the assembly contained a project of uniting all mankind under one government, and making them all speak one language, the French. He proposed, so soon as France should have conquered all her enemies, that every nation should send its representatives to Paris: he had even allotted the different countries into departments; England was to be called *Departement de la Tamise* ^b.

He was, at this period, connected with the Brissotines, and employed by them in preaching blood, anarchy, and slaughter. In the orgies which preceded the irruption into the king's palace, he sat as toastmaster at a table in the *Champs Elisees*, where Chabot harangued, and Dugazon sang ^c. He was so confidentially employed by that faction, that it was currently rumoured the offer of the crown of France to the duke of Brunswick was to be made through him ^d.

29th June,
His exertions.

After the overthrow of royalty, he once more made his appearance at the bar of the assembly, and proposed to raise a legion of Prussians to march to the frontiers, which should be called *Legion Vandale*: his speech was filled with glorious prophecies; these were no less acceptable to the assembly than his military project, which was decreed. His popularity indicated him as a proper person to receive the honors of naturalization, which were accordingly conferred on him, together with Pain, Priestley, Mackintosh ^e, and others.

12th Aug.
Proposes
to raise a
legion.

26th Aug.
Naturalized.

It is not certain, whether he, personally, took any share in the massacre of the prisoners, but he was a

2d Sept.
Approves
the massacre.

^a Debates.

^b Miss Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. ii. p. 29.

^c Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 275. Fennel's Review of Proceedings, p. 68.

^d Mercure François, N° du 28 Juillet 1792.

^e Debates.

3d Sept.
Introduced
to Roland.

constant approver and defender of them. He invented the word *Septembriser*, to express, without exciting an idea of crime, the act of destroying a helpless and defenceless enemy*. While this horrible carnage was at its height he was introduced to madame Roland's dinner parties, where he distinguished himself by his eulogy of the proceedings at the prisons, by his voracious appetite and vulgar manners†. He was so coldly received that he soon renounced the acquaintance, and enlisted himself among the decided opponents of the minister.

Member
of the con-
vention.

He was elected member of the convention for the *département de l'Oise*, and was a strenuous mountaineer. He made no great figure, spoke but seldom, and was never called to the president's chair. During their contest with the Brissotines, he rendered Robespierre and his friends a considerable service by a pamphlet, intitled *Ni Roland, ni Marat*, which was much applauded by the party for whose interest it was written, and produced an angry reply from the minister, or his wife‡. On the king's trial, he voted against the appeal to the people, and for death, accompanying each decision with acrimonious reflections, delivered in a style peculiar to himself.

His athe-
ism.

Clootz was a violent Cordelier. In his speeches to the legislative assembly, he mentioned the name of the Supreme Being with levity, but he afterwards professed himself an Atheist, and carried his profaneness to such an excess that he was called *the personal enemy of Jesus Christ*§. He wrote a book proving the nothingness of religion, which he presented to the convention, with an assurance that it was the fruit of fifteen hours labour every day for four

* Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 48a. Brissot à ses Commettans, p. 17 and 69.

† Appeal to Impartial Posterity, vol. i. p. 103, 4, 5, 6.

‡ See Robespierre à ses Commettans, vol. i. p. 172. *Mercur* François, N° du 1 Decembre 1792.

§ Memoires d'un Detenu, p. 76, &c. &c.

years.

years². It was by his instigation that Gobet attended at the bar of the convention, and renounced his religion; and when the ceremony was over, Clootz's wife proposed that a statue should be erected to the first bishop who had abjured the gospel.

1st Nov.
1793.

The reign of atheism was not of long duration: Robespierre obtained from the convention a decree by which Clootz was deprived of his seat, seals put on his papers, and himself confined in the prison of the Luxembourg. Here he seemed to harden in atheism; he even reproached Pain, who had just published the *Age of Reason*, and was then his fellow-prisoner, for retaining too many political and religious prejudices³. He was brought before the revolutionary tribunal, together with Hebert and his party. He appealed to the human race, whose orator he had been; but none of his clients interfered, and he was condemned to death. The night which preceded their execution was passed by the rest of the condemned in complaint and mutual accusation, till Clootz finished the disputes by repeating with a loud voice, the apologue, beginning, "*Je revais cette nuit, que de mal consumé*;" well known by the English translation,

30th Dec.
Deprived
of his seat,
and imprisoned.

31st Mar.
1794.
Tried and
executed.

"I dreamt that, gather'd to my fellow clay,

"Close to a common beggar's side I lay," &c.

This quotation, convincing the disputants that all their differences would be soon compromised by sharing one common lot, brought them to a more pacific disposition. He then exhorted them to die with resolution, and endeavoured to confirm their atheistical principles, and stifle the reproaches of conscience. His efforts failed with most of his friends, who betrayed the most dreadful alarms; but Clootz himself died with a firmness not to be expected from his principles⁴.

² Miss Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. ii. p. 176.

³ Idem, p. 177.

⁴ Memoires d'un Detenu, p. 76.

CARITAT DE CONDORCET.

Condor-
cet's fa-
mily.

Birth and
education.

Infidelity.

Corre-
sponds
with the
king of
Prussia.

Anecdote
of d'Alem-
bert.

THE family of Caritat de Condorcet was one of the most ancient in the principality of Orange. It was divided into two branches, the younger of which was established in Picardy. The marquis de Condorcet, so much celebrated in the annals of the revolution, was descended from this branch. He was born at Avignon¹, received a good education, and applied himself particularly to the study of mathematics and the belles lettres^m.

He was early in life introduced to Voltaire and d'Alembert, and from them imbibed those principles of scepticism, which afterwards became perfect atheism, and made him abhor even the name of Godⁿ. Under these preceptors he formed his mind, and endeavoured to cultivate a similarity of taste. He was, like them, a correspondent of the great Frederick, but his letters indicate no superiority of genius or elegance of fancy^o.

After the death of Voltaire, d'Alembert, far inferior to him in talents, was called to the throne of literature, which he occupied five years. Condorcet cultivated his friendship with the greatest assiduity, and assisted in all his endeavours to propagate systems of infidelity. When d'Alembert was on his

¹ Dictionnaire de la Noblesse, par M. de la Chenaye Desbois. Peltier's late Picture of Paris, vol. i. p. 434.

^m Memoires du Jacobinisme par Barruel, vol. i. p. 327.

ⁿ Idem, vol. i. p. 6. 316. et passim. Barruel's History of the Clergy, p. 5.

^o See Oeuvres Posthumes du Roi de Prusse.

death.

death-bed, Condorcet, fearful that in his last moments he would betray some weakness, and, like Voltaire, expose their sect to ridicule, watched him with unabating assiduity, and prevented the approach of every person who was likely to prevail on him to have recourse to the comforts of religion. D'Alembert, though assailed by all the horrors of remorse, was, by Condorcet's pernicious vigilance, prevented from having the means of appealing to the throne of mercy. But though he appeared so solicitous for his friend's reputation, and so jealous of its being stained by any charge of inconsistency, Condorcet in a moment of base exultation betrayed the secret; "*Si je ne m'étois pas trouvé là, il faisoit le plongeon,*" was his expression^p.

Condorcet was assiduous, and even servile in his attention to the great^q, and by their favor was nominated perpetual secretary to the academy of sciences at Paris, in which he also received other honors^r. His principal claim to literary reputation arises from a life of Voltaire, which accompanied a complete edition of his works^s. He also wrote some tracts, which are now little known, and which conveyed his favourite principles of infidelity.

Secretary
to the
academy.

In conformity with these principles, Condorcet was an active member of those societies which meditated the destruction of religion and government, under pretence of forwarding the reign of philosophy and freedom. He was an active member, and a distinguished office-bearer in the different lodges of corrupted free masonry established in France, and had already made such progress in his chimerical

Freema-
son.

^p Memoires du Jacobinisme par Barruel, vol. i. p. 382. Dictionnaire Historique, Art d'Alembert.

^q Peltier's late Picture of Paris, vol. i. p. 63. See also Mercure François, No. du 29 Octobre 1791.

^r Flower of the Jacobins, p. 33.

^s See Oeuvres Complètes de Voltaire. Also Mercure François Littéraire, No. du 24 Septembre 1792.

principles

principles of pretended philosophy, that, in a discourse delivered at the *Loge des Philalethes* at Strasbourg, he drew the outline of his celebrated posthumous work, called *Le Progrès de l'Esprit Humain*. Condorcet was highly respected in these lodges, and was one of a select political committee, formed from the lodge which took the name of *Le Contract Social*^a.

Economist. Condorcet was also one of the sect distinguished by the title of economists, whose labours were highly injurious to government^b. He distinguished himself by an answer to Necker's essay *Sur la Legislation des Grains*^c.

Ami des Noirs. He was also one of the regulating committee of the society of *Amis des Noirs*, intimately concerned in all their intrigues, active in exciting the public hatred against the planters, and received a considerable share of the sums sent by the people of colour to their friends in Paris^d.

Orleanist. Being so actively engaged in these societies, Condorcet had attached himself to the duke of Orleans, and, before the revolution, wrote some of those pamphlets which daily issued from the press, and prepared the public for those events which were afterwards produced by machinations of the Orleans faction^e. At the revolution he commenced editor of a news-paper, called *Le Chronique de Paris*, which was replete with virulent declamations and anti-monarchical principles^f. He also wrote for some time in the *Journal de Paris*, which Garat had resigned on the dissolution of the constituent assembly^g.

His Journal.

^a Robison's *Proofs of a Conspiracy*, p. 41. 386. 403.

^b *Memoires du Jacobinisme* par Barruel, vol. i. p. 412.

^c *Bastille dévoilée*, 3^e livraison, p. 48.

^d See BRISSOT. *Memoires du Jacobinisme* par Barruel, vol. ii. p. 446.

^e Mrs. Wollstonecraft's *History of the Revolution*, p. 68.

^f See Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. p. 427.

^g Garat's *Memoire*, p. 3.

Condorcet was a member of the Jacobin club, but his eloquence was not calculated to assist the cause he espoused, by speaking so much as by writing. His voice was shrill and squeaking^d, and his timidity was so great, that his votes often counteracted the effect of his arguments, owing to his fear of the galleries^e.

His elo-
quence.

At the period of the king's flight to Varennes, Condorcet was one of the projectors of, and a principal contributor to the paper called *Le Republicain*. His wife translated into French the essays written by Thomas Paine^f.

Le Repub-
licain.

Condorcet was a candidate for the office of tutor to the dauphin^g; but the king was so impressed with the badness of his character, and entertained such an abhorrence of his irreligion, and general want of principle, that he even objected to madame Condorcet as a companion for the queen^h. He was alarmed lest, through the activity and influence of the Jacobins, a man so unprincipled as Condorcet should be appointed preceptor to his son, and therefore nominated M. Fleurieu, a man of learning and virtue. The choice, however, was never ratified by the assemblyⁱ. It is remarkable, that while Condorcet was candidate for this office, and before the decision was announced, he was employed in writing pamphlets and paragraphs against the king's inviolability^k.

Candidate
for the pre-
ceptorship
of the
dauphin.

At the dissolution of the constituent assembly, Condorcet was elected deputy for Paris^l. He followed the political career of Brissot, and was, like

Elected
member of
the legisla-
tive assem-
bly.

^d *Mercur* François, No. du 18 Février 1791.

^e *Appel à l'Impartiale* Potterité, vol. ii. p. 30.

^f *Moore's View*, vol. ii. p. 376. *Roland's Appel*, vol. i. p. 38.

^g *Conjuration de d'Orléans*, vol. iii. p. 131. *Mercur* François, No. du 16 Juillet 1791.

^h *Bertrand's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 285.

ⁱ *Idem*, vol. ii. p. 149.

^k *Mercur* François, No. du 23 Juillet 1791.

^l *Idem*, No. du 29 Octobre 1791.

him,

him, an apologist for the massacres at Avignon, and a strenuous advocate for the plans of the *Amis des Noirs*. He was also an ardent adversary of the emigrants, against whom he called forth severe decrees, and made several violent harangues. In one of his speeches, he called the princes and nobility *la lie de la nation qui ose encore s'en nommer l'élite* ⁿ.

Persecu-
tion of the
clergy.

He was still distinguished by his atheistical principles, and declared in the assembly, that the efficacy of an oath was totally independent of a belief in God ^o. He was a promoter of all the violent and severe measures against the clergy, and to him is ascribed a custom which prevailed of whipping nuns and other religious women in the public streets, which he qualified with the mild name of ridicule. Besides the flagrant violation of decency included in these attacks, the mob carried their barbarity to such an excess, that their victims fainted, and even died under their hands. The priests in the provinces were knocked down with huge rods. At length, finding that all these cruelties were insufficient to deter the clergy from exercising their functions, and the pious from following them in preference to the constitutional priests, Condorcet suggested, and the mob readily adopted the practice of cutting off the hair and ears of both pastors and congregation. They were also placed on asses and paraded about the streets and public places, their mouths were filled with hay, they had insulting inscriptions on their backs, and in their progress the mob pelted them with filth and ordure ^p.

30th Oct.
1791.
Committee
of public
instruction.

Notwithstanding his atheism, the national assembly appointed Condorcet a member of the committee of public instruction. He applied to this subject with great attention, and presented to the legislature a

ⁿ See Debates 25th, 28th, and 31st October 1791.

^o Debates of 31st October 1791.

^p Baruel's History of the Clergy, p. 207.

report of a plan for forming the minds of the rising generation, the expence of which was estimated at twenty-four millions (1,050,000*l.*) a-year. The project was received, but never put in execution ¹. 25th May
1792.

Condorcet drew up the famous manifesto published by the French nation to all the powers of Europe, on the approach of war. This paper is replete with bold untruths, and promises which Condorcet well knew the country would never be inclined to observe. So far was the faction to which he was attached from desiring peace, as this manifesto pretends, that they were exerting every effort to procure a declaration of war. The paper was received with the loudest applause, ordered to be printed, transmitted to the executive power for the purpose of communicating it to foreign nations, sent to the eighty-three departments, all the regiments of the line and national battalions, and translated into all languages ². Mani-
festo.

Condorcet manifested the greatest malignity against the king, and omitted no opportunity of displaying his hatred. When he was president of the assembly, he was instructed to write a letter to the king, which he couched in terms so void of ceremony and respect, that the king, accustomed as he was to wanton insult, felt this as the greatest outrage he had yet received. The ministers proposed that an expostulatory letter should be written to the assembly, but Louis resolved only to oppose this effort of insolence by the negative energy of silence ³. In this the king acted wisely, for he could have no hopes of redress from an assembly which had heard this letter with approbation, and instead of a deputation, had transmitted it by the hands of a serjeant at arms ⁴. 6th Feb.
1792.
Letter to
the king.

¹ Debates. Pagès, vol. ii. p. 309.

² Debates. Histories.

³ Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 45. See also *Mercure François*, No. du 21 Fevrier 1792.

⁴ See Debates 6th Feb.

Exertions
in forming
ministry.

The fable of the Austrian committee was a topic on which Condorcet exerted himself with great perseverance^x. He had been bribed by Narbonne^y, and supported him with all his influence in the assembly and in the committees^z. He assisted, however, in forming the Jacobin administration, and threatened, if the persons whom he and his friends had elected were not nominated, that he would impeach the queen^a.

20th June
1793.
Promotes
insurrec-
tion.

On the dismissal of the Jacobin ministry, he was indefatigable in exciting the people to avenge their cause, and by his writings contributed to inflame the public mind, and to urge insurrection^b. The tumult of the twentieth of June was succeeded by the suspension of Petion and Manuel, which took place by order of the duke de la Rochefoucauld. The murder of this nobleman in consequence of this conduct, is generally imputed to the instigations of Condorcet, and cited as an extraordinary instance of ingratitude.

Conduct
towards
the duke
de la
Rochefou-
cauld.

The duchess d'Anville, mother to the duke de la Rochefoucauld, had made Condorcet a present of one hundred thousand livres (4375*l.*) to facilitate his marriage with mademoiselle Grouchi. The duke, who had always been Condorcet's benefactor, offered him the whole sum in ready money, but Condorcet would receive only forty thousand livres (1750*l.*), preferring to let the remainder continue at interest. After the commencement of the revolution, Condorcet's conduct became so atrocious, that Rochefoucauld and his mother resolved to decline his further acquaintance, and ordered their doors to be shut against him. Condorcet on this caused an intimation to be given to the duchess, that he would

^x Bertrand's *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 174.

^y *Idem*, vol. ii. p. 21.

^z *Life of Dumouriez*, vol. ii. p. 160.

^a *Peltier's late Picture*, vol. i. p. 98.

^b *Conjuration de d'Orleans*, vol. iii. p. 174.

be glad to receive the principal; which was accordingly paid him the next day by the duke. After the twentieth of June, Condorcet strenuously reprobated the suspension of Petion and Manuel, and used every art to irritate the people against Rochefoucauld. After the massacres in September, an order was expedited to arrest the duke, who was at *Forges les Eaux* with his mother and family, and bring him to Paris to be tried. A party of assassins, who had quitted Paris for the purpose, met him at Gisors, and murdered him as he was walking to his carriage. Manuel demanded that a just punishment should be inflicted on the murderers, but Condorcet, though under so many obligations, and though his writings had instigated the murder, betrayed neither sensibility or regret.

While the treason which took effect on the tenth of August was in agitation, Condorcet was assiduously employed in preparing the public to second the efforts of his faction, by inflammatory paragraphs and pamphlets^d. He brought up a report from the extraordinary commission appointed to discuss the question of the king's forfeiture, in which, after stating the various considerations connected with the subject, he told the assembly, that "whatever plan they might adopt, they would be accused of violating the constitution. That the committee would not present a complete plan of measures to be pursued, but recommended that instructions should be published to the people on the mode of *exercising their sovereignty*, to put them on their guard

Promotes
insurrec-
tion.

9th Aug.

^c I have taken this account from Peltier's late Picture, vol. i. p. 505. and vol. ii. p. 399. n. Some doubts have been expressed of Condorcet's guilt; it seems generally believed that his known malignity occasioned the untimely death of his benefactor. See Robison's *Proofs of a Conspiracy*, p. 452. Arthur Young's *Example of France*, p. 82. Miles's *Conduct of France towards Great Britain*, p. 130. *History of the Brissotines* by Camille Desmoulins, p. 60. *Residence in France*, edited by Gifford, vol. i. p. 174.

^d Brissot à ses Commettans, p. 104.

" against

"against the errors into which they might be precipitated." This report was in the language of treason palsied by fear; but when success had crowned the conspiracy, Condorcet aided the views of his party with all the sophistry and falsehood he could supply. He wrote *Reflections*, in which he endeavoured to assimilate the revolution which took place in England in 1688, to that which had been effected in France in 1792^h, and he drew up an exposition of motives on behalf of the assembly, replete with false arguments and unfounded assertions¹.

The share taken by Condorcet in the massacre of the prisoners is doubtful. He was at variance with the violent faction who principally organized those murders, and considered by Robespierre as one of the chiefs of the opposing party^k; yet Robespierre, though he denounced Brissot at the Jacobin club, did not mention Condorcet^l. Louvet asserts that Condorcet was devoted to destruction on that day^m; but Montjoye avers, that he was one of the most active promoters of the massacre, and at that time so intimately connected with Orleans, that he was generally mentioned as one of his four ministersⁿ.

Member
of the con-
vention.

Condorcet was elected member of the convention, not for Paris, which he had represented in the legislative assembly, but for the department of l'Aisne. At the first sitting of the convention he was nominated vice-president, and was one of the committee appointed to revise the constitution^o. His conduct was for some time so equivocal, that many doubts

^g Debates.

^h See Jordan's Political State of Europe, vol. i. p. 604.

¹ For this exposition and cogent remarks on it, see Peltier's late *Fixture of Paris*, vol. i. p. 440-464.

^k See *Defenseur de la Constitution par Robespierre*, p. 99-124.

^l See BRISSET. ^m Narrative, p. 17.

ⁿ *Conjuration de d'Orleans*, vol. iii. p. 210. See also *History of the Brissotines* by Desmoulins, p. 60.

^o *Histories. Debates.*

were

were entertained whether he meant to attach himself to the Mountain or to the Gironde[†]. On Louvet's accusation of Robespierre, he voted for suppressing inquiry by passing to the order of the day[‡]; but he afterwards wrote in his Journal with so much asperity against Robespierre, that their mutual hatred became irreconcilable[§].

From Condorcet's avowed enmity to royalty, it might be expected that his exertions against the king would have been decided and unremitting; but he seldom spoke in the convention; and when the fate of Louis was put to the vote, timidity or hypocrisy seemed to dictate all his observations. It is difficult to conclude, from the language of his speech, whether he intended to vote for or against the sentence of death; but it was received as his opinion, that the king should be imprisoned in chains for life. After sentence of death had been pronounced, he spoke and voted against a respite, and urged execution of the sentence in twenty-four hours[¶].

After the death of Louis, Condorcet was principally employed in framing a new constitution. So much reliance was placed on his abilities and judgment, that the committee permitted him to assume the principal merit of the work. His production was submitted to the convention, where the constitutional act obtained feeble approbation; but the Jacobin club, among whom his party had less influence, voted it detestable[¶]. Their judgment was well founded; and it is justly observed by an English writer, not unfavourable to Condorcet's faction, that it was a mass of metaphysical absurdities[¶].

[†] Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 234. Peltier's late Picture of Paris, vol. ii. p. 400.

[‡] Debates. Louvet's Narrative, p. 23.

[§] Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 344.

[¶] Debates.

[¶] The Conduct of France towards Great Britain examined, by Miles, p. 150.

[¶] Impartial History, vol. ii. p. 310.

Further
labours.
16th April.

Condorcet was one of the committee of public safety, and was employed to draw up a declaration from the national convention respecting the violation of the law of nations in detaining the commissioners whom Dumouriez had caused to be arrested ^a.

Caution
during
contest.

13th May.

16th May.

During the contest between the Mountain and the Brissotines, Condorcet maintained a cautious silence. For eight months he hardly spoke in the convention; and seems to have been singularly wary in not risking an opinion on any party question ^c. At length he was so far roused by the indignities which the legislative body daily endured, that he proposed the dissolution of the convention, and the calling of a new one ^d. This probably exasperated the Mountain to such an excess that, in a subsequent insurrection, his printing-office was destroyed ^e. He was not, however, included in the list of proscribed deputies; nor was he one of the members who signed the famous protest against the proceedings on the thirty-first of May.

Denounced.

8th July.

Yet though he could conquer every sentiment of friendship, and stifle every indignant sensation at the destruction of his party, his vanity as an author propelled him to a fatal exertion. When the constitution, commonly called the constitution of 1793, had been accepted, he published an *Address to all French Citizens*, reprobating the extreme rapidity and want of consideration with which it had been framed and accepted; and detailing the numerous acts of violence by which the prevailing party in the convention had established their influence. This rash act placed him in the power of the Mountain; Chabot denounced the publication, and moved for a decree of accusation against Condorcet; which was immediately granted ^b.

^a Debates.

^b Brissot à ses Commettans, p. 25. Garat's Memoirs, p. 165.

^c Debates.

^d Goudemetz's Epochs.

^e Debates. See also Impartial History, vol. ii. p. 307.

He escaped from the arrest, and concealed himself nine months in the house of a woman in Paris, who, though she knew him only by name, had the extraordinary generosity to risk her life, and sustain all the inconveniences arising from his residence with her. At length a domiciliary visit was threatened, and he was obliged to quit his asylum. He had the

Conceals himself.

good fortune, though unprovided with a passport or civic card, to escape through the barrier, and went to the country-house of a friend on the plain of Mont-Rouge. Unfortunately his friend was in Paris at the time, and not expected to return in less than

Apr. 1794.
Escapes from Paris.

three days, during which the fugitive was obliged to wander about, exposed to hunger, cold, suspense, and the pain arising from a wound in his foot. At length his friend returned into the country, and found him; but considering it dangerous to take him to his house in the day-time, requested him to wait till night, and then he would receive and conceal him. Condorcet, on the day his friend had fixed as the end of his miseries, forgot the dictates of prudence; he went to an inn at Clamars, where he ordered an omelette. His squalid appearance, dirty cap, torn clothes, leanness, and voracity, fixed the attention of some persons present; one of whom, a municipal officer, asked him whence he came, whither he was going, and if he had a passport? His confusion at these interrogatories betrayed him, and caused him to be apprehended. He was confined in

Poisons himself.

a dungeon that night, and in the morning found dead. He always carried a dose of poison about him, which had been given him by Garat, and with which he terminated his existence, to avoid a trial before the revolutionary tribunal, and to shun the gradual approach of inevitable destruction.

Condorcet's character is thus emphatically described by madame Roland. "The genius of

Condorcet's character.

* This account is principally derived from Talma's Chronology, p. 140. See also Garat's Memoirs, p. 49.

^d Appel à l'Impartiale Postérité, vol. ii. p. 30.

" Condorcet is equal to the comprehension of the
 " greatest truths ; but he has no other characteristic
 " besides fear. It may be said of his understanding
 " combined with his person, that it is a fine essence
 " absorbed in cotton. No one will say of him, that
 " in a feeble body he displays great courage ; his
 " heart and constitution are equally weak. The
 " timidity which forms the basis of his character,
 " and which he displays even in company, on his
 " countenance and in his attitudes, does not result
 " from his frame alone, but seems to be inherent in
 " his soul ; and his talents furnish him with no means
 " of subduing it. Thus, after having deduced a
 " principle, or demonstrated a fact in the assembly,
 " he would give a vote decidedly opposite, over-
 " awed by the thunder of the tribunes, armed with
 " insults, and prodigal of threats. The properest
 " place for him was the secretaryship of the academy.
 " Such men should be employed to write, but never
 " permitted to act ; it is a happiness to be able to
 " draw some utility from them ; even that is not to
 " be done with all timid persons ; in general, they
 " are good for nothing." Barruel, after mention-
 " ing the violence of his atheism, says *, " It might be
 " thought that he was desirous to avenge himself on
 " the Supreme Being for the heart he had given him.
 " Hard, ungrateful, insensible, cold, the assassin of
 " friendship, and of his benefactors ; had it been in
 " his power he would have treated the Deity as he
 " treated la Rochefoucauld."

political,

Whether Condorcet was in reality a republican,
 or only affected to espouse that form of government
 in order to forward the views of Orleans, is not easily
 decided. There is such an involution of politics and
 reduplication of sentiments in the whole faction of
 Orleanists, that their real opinions cannot always be
 defined. It is probable that Condorcet thought a re-
 publican form of government best fitted for the dif-

* *Memoires du Jacobinisme*, vol. i. p. 316.

fusion of his speculations in religion and morals; but that he would, with equal pleasure, have promoted the domination of a profligate and unprincipled conspirator, over whom he could acquire unlimited ascendancy, and by whose means he could combine his views of public instruction with those of individual aggrandisement.

Those who are willing to praise Condorcet most highly, abandon his political and personal, to descant on his literary character. His Letters to the King of Prussia indicate no superiority of genius; and his Life of Voltaire, independent of the principles it conveys, is not conspicuous as an effort of biography. His Eulogium of Franklin abounds with faults, as well grammatical as rhetorical^f; and Barruel speaks of his style, particularly that of his earlier performances, with great contempt^g. During his seclusion in Paris, Condorcet wrote his famous sketch of the Progress of the Human Mind, to which even Barruel allows the praise of correct composition^h. The object of this work is to enforce a belief of the perfectibility of man; and the author carried this chimerical delusion so far as to assert, that longevity and every desirable personal quality were attainable. The end of Condorcet himself forms a remarkable refutation of his absurd doctrine; for although he had so recently philosophised on the subject, and might be supposed thoroughly imbued with the principles he was desirous to enforce, he threw away his life by wanting strength to resist the importunities of hunger for a few hours.

^f See *Mercure François Littéraire*, No. du 24 Decembre 1791.

^g *Memoires du Jacobinisme*, vol. i. p. 317.

^h *Ibid.*

GEORGE JAQUES DANTON.

Danton's
profession.

Conduct at
the revolution.

Exertions
in the
clubs.

DANTON was bred to the law, and practised chiefly in causes before the cabinet council. Previous to the revolution he was unable to have maintained himself but for the charity of his wife's father, who allowed them a guinea a-week¹. After the 14th of July 1789, he began to make a figure in his district by his clamorous invectives, not only against the court, but against the idols of the day, la Fayette and Bailly. He was then taken into the pay of the duke of Orleans, and exerted himself with such vehemence that la Fayette commenced a suit against him and Marat in the court of Chatelet; but he had the address to influence his whole district against the proceeding; and by threats of insurrection to induce the general to discontinue it². During the sittings of the constituent assembly, he became acquainted with Robespierre, and conjointly with him laboured to advance the views of Orleans; not from any affection to his person, or gratitude for his favours, but from the hope of ruling a mind so weak, and, in effect, governing the kingdom by swaying a council of regency, of which he was to have been the head³. For this purpose he began, at the Jacobins, to attack the Lameths and other popular

¹ Playfair's History of Jacobinism, p. 327. Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 87.

² Roland's Appeal, ubi supra. Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 158.

³ That this was the main spring of his actions, especially after the death of Mirabeau, appears from the concurring testimony of many authors. See Pagès, vol. i. p. 460. 470. vol. ii. p. 42. Louvet's Narrative, p. 9, 10. Roland's Appeal, before cited. Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 186. 209, 210. New Annual Register for 1794, p. 351, &c.

characters

characters who were attached to the crown as an integral part of the constitution ; and was one of the most active members of the society of Cordeliers^m. He was engaged in propagating all the falsehoods, alarms, and proscriptions of that society, and in all their abominable manœuvres to render the court suspected, and the king odious to his subjects. He distinguished himself particularly on that day when, instigated by false reports and unfounded accusations, the populace rose to prevent the king from going to Saint Cloud. The insults to which the royal family was on that occasion exposed, and the insolence of forcibly detaining their persons, induced a member of the commune to propose that the soldiery should be authorised to fire on the people ; but Danton opposed the motion with a success which insured his popularity, by confirming the triumph of the mobⁿ. He was made deputy *procureur de la commune*, though he seldom attended the duties of his office ; or, previous to the 10th of August 1792, went to the hall of the *commune* for any other purpose than that of promoting insurrection, or reporting the proceedings at the *Palais Royal*^o. He was an assiduous promoter of the famous petition against royalty, which was signed in the *Champ de Mars*, at which place he appeared mounted, in imitation of la Fayette, on a white charger ; but afterwards hearing that an order was issued for arresting him, he fled to Marseilles^p, or, as some say, to London^q. However, he soon returned, and resumed his influence at the Jacobins and Cordeliers.

The enterprising genius of Danton had been considerably checked during the sitting of the constituent

18th April
1791.
Opposes
the king's
journey to
St. Cloud.

Made de-
puty pro-
cureur de
la com-
mune.

Promotes
the petition
to dethrone
the king.

Receives
money
from the
ministry.

^m Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 87. Moore's View, vol. i. p. 231.
ⁿ 246. Garat's Memoirs, p. 231.

^o See Moore's View, vol. i. p. 243. vol. ii. p. 32.

^p See Mercure François, No. du 19 Mai 1792, p. 209.

^q Playfair's History of Jacobinism, p. 327. Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 413. 477.

^r Brissot à tous les Républicains, p. 192.

assembly, by the knowledge, eloquence, and good dispositions of some of the members, and by their vigilance, which did not permit all the atrocious excesses which afterwards took place. The dissolution of that body, la Fayette's resignation, and the appointment of the Jacobin, Petion, to the mayoralty, were circumstances which gave additional spring to his hopes and energy to his actions. His influence in the clubs was now so well appreciated, that amongst other measures pursued by the well-meaning, but frequently mistaken minister, M. de Montmorin, in order to conciliate the predilection of the people to his unfortunate sovereign, was that of bribing Danton. The object of these bribes was to induce him to make such motions in the clubs as would operate in favour of the royal family. This undertaking Danton faithfully performed, though no good resulted from it; he used to preface his motions with the fashionable abuse of the court, by which finesse he prevented the suspicion of being sold to the court, and insured the success of his measures. For these services he was very liberally paid, having received, during the administration of M. de Montmorin, upwards of an hundred thousand crowns, (12,500 *l.*) a thing easily credible, as he demanded no less than twenty-four thousand livres (1050 *l.*) for carrying a single motion, and that of no great importance, in the Jacobin club'.

18th June
1793.
Denounces
la Fayette.

Danton was one of the most virulent opponents of la Fayette, whom he denounced in the Jacobin club as an enemy to the constitution, and as an intriguer who wished to re-establish nobility'. Since the dismissal of M. de Montmorin, and, indeed, for some time previous to it, he had ceased to receive any money from the court, and was one of the most furious partizans of Petion. The dismissal of the

^r Bertrand's Private Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 162, 163.

^s Journals. Political State of Europe, vol. i. p. 173.

Jacobin

Jacobin administration, the refusal of the king to sanction the decrees for forming a camp near Paris, and his adherence to the dictates of his conscience in employing non-juring priests, furnished a pretence to the Jacobins for clamour against the monarch, and for the insurrection of the 20th June, which Danton promoted and encouraged with all his influence and activity¹. It is doubtful whether he was a contriver of the insurrection which speedily followed, as the Brissotines and the Mountain, who were not disunited at that period, both of them afterwards claimed the merit of that execrable plot, and each denied to the other party any share in it. Garat, the friend and admirer of Danton, roundly asserts, that "Danton prepared the events of the 10th of "August". Louvet, on the other hand, avers, with equal confidence, that the business was prepared in a secret committee of Brissotines, and that "Danton, who had concealed himself during the "battle, appeared after the victory, armed with a "huge sabre, and marching at the head of a battalion of *Marfeillois*, as if he had been the hero of "the day". The cowardice imputed to Danton in this extract, forms no part of his general character; it is also certain that long before the day of insurrection, he gave intimations of his knowledge of the intended plot, by his ferocious answers to some petitioners against the *Marfeillois*, against Petion, and against the king's dethronement. "We shall answer you," he said, "with screwed bayonets". It is, however, very probable that he was not admitted to all the secrets of that intriguing party, and did not know the true reasons which prevented the

10th Aug.
Examina-
tion of his
conduct.

¹ Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 175.

² Memoirs, p. 236. Dr. Moore also, for whose judgment I have the utmost respect, seems to think that the insurrection was in a great measure planned by Danton. Journal, vol. i. p. 153.

³ See Louvet's speech against Robespierre; and his Narrative, p. 17. See also Pagès, vol. ii. p. 478. 486.

⁴ Peltier's Picture of Paris, vol. i. p. 37. 421.

execution

11th Aug.
Appointed
minister.

execution of the plot on the day originally intended. He was one of the three who retained their places in the council of the *commune*, and was provisionally appointed minister of justice when the rebellion was crowned with success*. His first official exertion was, to give a false account of the king's retreat from the palace; which he asserted in a letter, addressed to the eighty-three departments, to have been in the highest degree disgraceful to the unfortunate monarch. He averred, that "the king escaped from " his palace by a private stair-case; that he fled, " abandoning his friends and defenders." This position is in every respect the very reverse of the truth; the king crossed a long suite of apartments, descended the great stair-case, passed slowly through the lower vestibule of the palace, in sight of more than two thousand persons, who instantly informed his defenders of the fact*.

Quarrels
with his
colleagues.

But so short-sighted are those politicians who affect to secure their aims by treachery and revolt, that the parties most interested in bringing about the events of the 10th of August, dug their own grave, at the time they thought themselves founding an inexpugnable fortrefs of popularity and power. The feeble and improvident Brissotines were destined to become the victims of the fermentation they had occasioned in the mass of the people; and Orleans, now that the tide of popularity ran so strongly in favour of a republic, saw those he imagined his creatures the most strenuous supporters of the worship of the new idol, and himself a prey to their rapacity, and a sacrifice to their thirst of blood. Whether the impatient genius of the Cordeliers which animated Danton, or the frigid systematical mode of intrigue and treachery which distinguished the Rolandists, first occasioned a disunion, it is certain that, soon

* Impartial History, vol. ii. p. 90. 109. and all the other Histories.

* Histoire de la Conspiration du 10 Août, par M. Bigot de Ste. Croix, p. 53.

after

after the formation of the new ministry, there arose a schism among them. Danton had yet great strokes of ambition and avarice to strike, which required a dispensation with all the existing laws; the other ministers, who in the plenitude of power and national confidence had obtained the summit of their wishes, were desirous to enforce order and obedience to the laws, as the means of giving stability to their influence. They had availed themselves of the instrumentality of Danton and his associates to produce the commotion of the 20th of June, and had carried a much greater point by the suspension of the royal authority after the 10th of August; but they did not wish to expose themselves to the dangers which would result from an intimate connexion with Marat, Chaumette, and all the desperadoes of the Cordelier faction, whom they hoped, after having used, to discard without ceremony. Danton, on the other hand, whose projects widened in proportion to the extent of action permitted to him, and whose innate energy and violence did not permit him to be kept in subjection by the pedant Roland or any of his friends, was impatient to assume such a superiority as would destroy the present administration, and bring forward a party amongst whom he might hope for unlimited controul. A jealousy of him was entertained by the Rolandists; from the first formation of the ministry they whispered objections to acting with him, on account of his *bad character*, which, they said, spoiled the council^b. Danton, who perhaps perceived that he did not stand high in the opinions of these political hypocrites, was at first extremely assiduous at all their cabinet parties till he had sounded the depth of their minds, the vigour of their judgment, and the extent of their resources^c; he then began to play his own

^b Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 83.

^c Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 86. Life of Dumouriez, vol. iii. p. 256.

game;

His influence in the army ;

and in the departments.

game ; he first drew from Roland the fourth part of two millions of livres which had been voted by the assembly to the ministry for secret services ; this sum (21,875*l.*), reinforced by some considerable additions which he had obtained from Servan and le Brun, he employed in procuring writers, orators, and motion-makers, to vilify and render them unpopular^d. The rounded periods of Roland, the contemplative subtleties of Brissot and Condorcet, and the wit of L'ouvet, were exerted in vain against the rhetoric of Marat and Hebert, who protested the most unlimited love of the people while they excited them to cut each other's throats ; and whose eloquence, possessing no other flowers than abuse, oaths, obscenities, and the most unqualified blasphemy, was fitted to their comprehension, and never failed to produce all the effects of conviction. The feeble and injudicious cabinet with whom he was connected, strong only in treachery, but wanting the firmness and resolution which constitute complete conspirators, afforded him an easy triumph. His aim was to bring the army and the departments to the same frame of mind, which he could at any time produce in the inhabitants of the capital. In this he succeeded, by alienating the affections of some of the sub-agents of his colleagues, and by procuring commissions and contracts for men devoted to him^e. One of the first steps resolved on by the cabinet was to dispatch commissioners to the departments to explain the events of the 10th of August. This commission, had the ministers been wise, would have furnished them with an insurmountable barrier against intrigue and calumny, by prepossessing a large portion of the community in favour of their persons and talents ; but, though they entertained suspicions of Danton, they permitted him, through mere indolence, and want of foresight, and

^d Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 89, 90, 91.

^e Idem, p. 91.

not only without a struggle, but without the smallest dissentient effort, to nominate all the commissioners himself, and signed the commissions without examination. The consequence is obvious; the commissioners, all Cordeliers, *sans-culottes*, bawlers in clubs, and intriguers in sections; men without means of subsistence, without moral principles, and without character; not only spread abroad the fame of Danton and his friends, but introduced to the departments and the army the ideas of insurrection and insubordination, the contempt of duty and decorum, the profligacy of manners, and the blasphemous and obscene dialect which characterised their party in Paris^f. Marat, bold through impunity, not only harassed the ministers with repeated demands for money, but when they did not immediately comply with his requests, pointed them out in his journals and placards as objects of popular fury: and reproached the inactivity of the people in hesitating to exterminate them^g.

Mean time the election for the members of the national convention was proceeding, and the army of the allied monarchs was advancing with hasty strides towards the capital. Dumouriez alone, with a handful of inexperienced soldiers, poisoned by Jacobinism, and irresolute what course to take, defended the forest of Argonne, and, in the event, saved the country. Roland and his feeble co-adjutors, trembling at danger, and conscious of the peril of their situation, between an exasperated enemy and an estranged and licentious populace, were earnest with the general to abandon his situation and draw his troops nearer the capital; and they had proposed to move the seat of government, the assembly, and the king, to the other side of the Loire. Danton alone supported Dumouriez, and opposed this cowardly step, calculated only to increase the courage of the

Opposes
the removal
of the as-
sembly.

^f Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 94, 95.

^g See MARAT.

enemy,

enemy, throw despair amongst the people, and promote the plan of a federal republic, to which the Girondists had begun again to direct their views. Kerfaint, in support of the proposed removal, affected to demonstrate that, in a fortnight, the king of Prussia would sup at the Tuilleries. Danton over-ruled every argument. "I have brought my mother to Paris," he exclaimed; "she is seventy years of age; she and my two children arrived yesterday. Sooner than see the Prussians enter this city, my family shall perish with me. Twenty thousand torches shall reduce Paris to a heap of ashes. Take care, Roland, how you talk of flight, and tremble lest the people should hear you." Roland shook with fear and anger at the superior ascendancy of Danton; the scheme was abandoned, and Dumouriez reinforced^b.

Prepara-
tions for a
massacre.

It was of the utmost importance to secure for his party, if possible, a majority in the national convention: to effect this Danton spared no exertions; he spread the doctrines which he wished to be adopted through the country, by means of innumerable and clamorous agents; the slackened attendance of the Girondists at the Jacobins, confirmed the ascendancy of Robespierre, who was his sworn friend; and the affiliated societies throughout the departments embraced with zeal the cause of the leaders in Paris. The sums Danton was enabled to draw from the treasury, and those which hope or fear induced Orleans to contribute, were still insufficient for all his purposes. A great exploit must be performed, in which it was necessary to unite every attainable influence, to counterpoise the splenetic opposition of those who were not intended to partake the benefit of the plot. Ever since the 10th of August the prisons of Paris had been filling with persons arrested

^b See the Life of General Dumouriez, vol. iii. p. 263. 288. Camille Desmoulins's History of the Brissotines, p. 20.

on various charges of counter-revolutionary intentions; and many had been shut up from motives of personal dislike, or from no other motive but the reputation of being rich, or because they were or had been priests. The means of incarceration were greatly increased by a measure resulting from a proposal of Danton to the assembly; he had proposed to equip a volunteer army of sixty thousand men, who should sally forth from Paris to meet the enemy. To obviate the difficulty of supplying them with arms, he proposed that individuals who possessed, should be compelled to furnish them; and for this purpose domiciliary visits were directed to be made. In the course of these irruptions into the dwellings of individuals, many were carried to prison without the allegation of a crime, merely because their personal property tempted the avarice, or their talents or loyalty excited fear in the parties of Orleans or of Danton. Arrests were executed in all quarters; in the houses, streets, squares, gardens. The hackney-coaches, and the soldiers at the command of the officers of justice, were too few for the purpose of taking all the persons pointed out into custody, and of conveying them to the prisons¹. That the intended massacre of the prisoners was known to some of them, is obvious from the conduct of the unfortunate Chantereine, who stabbed himself in prison, assigning that as a reason^{*}. The priests and ex-nobles were given to understand that it was in contemplation to transport them to the coast of Africa,

¹ I have always considered Danton a principal contriver of the massacres of the prisoners. Garat alone argues feebly against it; *Memoirs*, p. 236. but on the other side see Peltier's late *Picture of Paris*, vol. ii. p. 230. 268. 279. 478. *Conjuration de d'Orleans*, vol. iii. p. 210. *Pages*, vol. ii. p. 479. *Playfair's History of Jacobinism*, p. 503. *Roland's Appeal*, vol. i. p. 93. and most of the *Histories*. For the manner in which the prisons were filled, Danton's speeches and motions to obtain the decrees. See *Garat's Memoirs*, p. 25. *Peltier's late Picture of Paris*, vol. ii. p. 270. 299. and the debates in the assembly.

^{*} *St. Meard's Agony*, p. 10.

and

and in that persuasion collected as many of their valuables as they could, to procure such comforts as their sudden expatriation would permit. Danton sent for lists of the prisoners as early as the 26th of August; and Manuel attended at the prisons-daily, to number and call over the prisoners; and encouraged them to collect their property, by an ambiguous declaration that they would be liberated the second of September¹.

2d Sept.
Horrible
carnage in
the prisons.

That day was fixed for the muster of the levies intended to be sent out of the capital to meet the invaders; they were ordered to present themselves at the *Champ de Mars* to be enrolled, and march from thence in a body. In the course of the day, the most alarming reports were circulated, and the most fatal jealousies excited. It was asserted that the Prussians had taken Chalons, and were within ten leagues of the gates of Paris; that they were to be joined by an immense force in the departments, and reinforced by a party in the capital, who, as soon as the new levies had left the city, were to rise, open the prisons, and, being joined by the prisoners, to perpetrate many horrid cruelties on the patriots, to murder one-tenth of the other citizens, and to release the royal family, and reinstate the king in the plenitude of his pristine power. At one o'clock the cannon were fired, the tocsin sounded, the barriers shut, and the country proclaimed to be in danger. The citizens, panic-struck, and torpid with surprise, retired to their places of abode, while a prepared band of ruffians went to the various prisons, where they commenced a scene which will form an eternal stigma on the nation. They massacred in cold blood, one by one, a number of priests, and Swiss officers, who were confined at the *Carmes*, and other prisons; they instituted in each prison a pretended court of justice, composed of self-constituted judges, many of

¹ Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 230.

them

them foreigners, and many more who could not read; these ruffians ordered the execution of almost every person who was brought before them, and it was the melancholy employment of those confined, and who were expecting their fate, to examine the various modes of receiving the stroke of death, and calculate in which position it appeared to give least pain, or occasioned the smallest struggles. The sentence of acquittal pronounced in favour of some was drowned in the yell of the exterminators around the doors, and they were inhumanly butchered. The same fate awaited some who attended as witnesses, but whose terrors overcoming their presence of mind, were murdered amongst the victims they came to rescue. These horrible scenes continued the whole of the second and third of September; some of the ministers, and some members of the assembly, exerted themselves to procure their termination, but in vain. The minister of justice remained silent, and Santerre the commandant of the national guard inactive. Does this partial interference in the ministers and the assembly, or this torpid indifference in the citizens of Paris, acquit them of culpability in the transaction? Certainly not. It was the duty of the assembly to have sent members into the sections to exhort the people to rise and prevent the progress of such horrid scenes; the ministers should have impeached and superseded such of their colleagues as remained deaf to their calls; and finally, if the citizens of Paris persevered in their criminal inactivity, it was the duty of the legislature to have divided into proper portions, to have repaired to the scenes of riot and murder, and made *a rampart of their bodies*, for the protection of the unfortunate victims. But that could not be; the Rolandists were not sorry, whatever they might affect, to learn the destruction of the ex-priests and Swiss officers, and some of them were not displeased at the prospect of success to the views of Orleans.

A great portion of the members of the legislative assembly were devoted to him, and a still greater to those who were enriching themselves by the spoils of the victims. The prisons were at length emptied, and the assassins satiated with blood and plunder. Besides those whom the contagion of the example, and the extension of the plan of murder into the departments, and whom private animosity, in Paris, deprived of life, upwards of five thousand persons, according to the most moderate accounts, (though some say as many as eight thousand,) were sacrificed during these days of horror and indelible infamy^m.

The

^m The account of the proceedings on these days is to be found in all the Histories and Journals. See also Peltier's late Picture of Paris, vol. ii. p. 234. 238. 318. St. Meard's Agony, passim. Moore's Journal, vol. i. p. 303, and in various places to the end of the volume. Playfair's History of Jacobinism, p. 489. Garat's Memoirs, p. 35. Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 212. And see Brissot à tous les Republicains, p. 187, and p. 219, where Brissot, affecting to exculpate himself and his friends, mentions the events of the second of September in these words :

"As to the events of the 2d of September, I will prove, if I am again called on to speak of that dreadful day, which I probably may, I will prove that they had no connexion with the glorious revolution of the 10th of August; I will prove that they were not necessary to confirm, that they could only tend to dishonor it, and that they would have entirely destroyed its effects, if the views of the projectors had been fully answered. I will prove that those atrocious scenes were not the offspring of chance, or of a spontaneous sentiment in the people; that they were devised and prepared in the cabinet; that the parts were distributed; that commissions of judges and executioners were, if I may use the expression, regularly issued; that the whole proceeding was arranged; the salaries fixed; the words of order foreseen and communicated; the lists of prisoners examined, purified, (according to the phrase of these barbarians,) returned to the executioners with such marks as should prevent the possibility of mistake; and that when doubtful cases occurred, the judges referred to the supreme regulators of the massacre."

On this point, Brissot has a note. "The following was attested to me as a fact: One of these executioner-judges was puzzled at the Abbaye respecting the fate of a prisoner, whose description did not tally with his appearance, nor was his name the same as had been given in. He made the unhappy man stand aside, while he sent to consult with the committee of inspection, from whom the fatal decree was expedited in these words; 'It is the very man. SET

" HIM

The conduct of Danton during these transactions was such as to leave no doubt of his being a principal contriver of them; the alarm of intended assassination was spread amongst the prisoners on the morning of the 2d of September, and their friends made applications to the ministry, and pointedly to the minister of justice, coming out of the council chamber, for an armed force sufficient for their protection; his answer was, "The devil take the prisoners; what care I what becomes of them?" The events of these days fully answered his purpose; terror repressed his enemies, and the command of money and power he had acquired enabled him and his party to procure the return of a great proportion of the members of the convention, to retain a great number of journalists and party writers, and to excite, at pleasure, riots in the capital or in the departments. For some time previous to the 2d of September, he had absented himself from Roland's cabinet parties, and was confessedly forming a cabal against him; he encouraged the attacks made by Marat, and it is even asserted that he endeavoured to get Roland arrested, and consequently assassinated on that day.

"HIM FREE." It is known that this was the watchword for murder."

Brissot then proceeds; "I will prove that the people of Paris had no share in these atrocities worthy of cannibals; that it is not true, as the decree of the 13th October, wherein it is called an *important day*, calumniously asserts, that it was the act of thirty thousand citizens, who had repaired to the *Champ de Mars* to be enrolled. I will prove, in the face of that decree, that the massacre began at two or three o'clock, at which time there were not a hundred citizens in the *Champ de Mars*; that the massacre preceded the enrolment; that all the motives alleged in its justification are absurd; that precautions have even been taken to insert in the journals false and fabulous pretences; that these horrors might have been easily repressed; that the massacres were committed by, at most a hundred, unknown freebooters, joined by a few inhabitants of Paris, who are, to this day, the detestation of their fellow-citizens."

^a Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 101. n.

^b Appel, &c. vol. ii. p. 69.

^c Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 93. 100.

Member of
the con-
vention.

24th Sept.

10th Oct.

His exer-
tions
against
Roland,

Danton was elected member of the convention for Paris: he was obliged, in order to take his seat in the legislature, to give up his situation as minister, but he continued to exercise the functions, provisionally, till a new minister should be appointed. It is not improbable that he had formed the project of retaining both situations, as he objected to the use of the word *çi-devant* in a report where he was mentioned. He alleged, that, notwithstanding his being a deputy, he was a minister in every sense of the word, till a new one was appointed, adding, that, *by the convocation of a national convention, the people had abrogated all former laws.* This sophistry was not attended with success, and he was obliged to resign his ministerial character, on the appointment of Garat¹. He acquired great additional popularity by his motion made the first day the convention assembled, "That the constitution, when decreed, should be submitted to the people in the primary assemblies;" and by another made the day after, "that the people had a right to choose judges, and that without restriction as to education or profession." His rancor against Roland produced many motions, speeches, and efforts, tending to destroy the popularity of that minister, and to procure his expulsion from office. Being obliged to resign his own place in administration, he endeavoured to prevail on Roland to do the same, in hopes afterwards to have invalidated his election; but this scheme was frustrated by the penetration of the minister's friends, and the majority they possessed in the convention². It was proposed by his party, that Roland should be *invited* to retain his seat in the convention as well as his place of minister. This Danton opposed with all his eloquence, and with all the acrimony he could; he even descended so

¹ *Mercure François*, N^o du 6 Octobre 1792, p. 6.

² *Roland's Appeal*, vol. i. p. 115.

low as to make a personal allusion to madame Roland; but this was so ill received that the motion would, in all probability, have been carried had it not been suggested by Cambon, that in so doing the assembly would weaken the responsibility of the minister, who himself wrote to the convention, the next day, declining his seat^{*}.

Danton did not confine his vindictive exertions to Roland; general Montesquieu was also an object of them; but his successes baffled for a time the malice of his turbulent adversary, who not content with giving instructions to one of his officers to pistol him if he made the least retrograde movement, caused a motion to be made, and supported it with his usual pertinacity, that the general had lost the confidence of the nation, and should be dismissed from his command[†].

His whole attention, however, could not be employed in making attacks; he was obliged to defend himself and friends against the accusations of others. The project of setting up a dictator, or vesting the government of the country in a triumvirate, which was imputed to him and Robespierre, and the evasion of an inquiry into the massacres in the prisons, were the subjects of much trouble to him in the convention and in the clubs; but his address and popularity, aided by the fears of the Brissotines to press matters too far, and the audacity and activity of Marat, triumphed over every difficulty. He was one of the committee for forming the new constitution[‡], and, on the resignation of Petion, stood candidate for the mayoralty of Paris, but obtained only sixty-seven suffrages[§].

and general Montesquieu.
24th Sept.

Is himself attacked.

^{*} For these and his other motions, speeches, and exertions against Roland, see Debates, and Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 193. 195. 241. 247. 369.

[†] Debates. See also Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 47 to 53.

[‡] See Debates, and Moore's Journal, vol. ii. passim.

[§] *Mercur*e François, No du 3 Novembre 1792, p. 48.

His elo-
quence.

28th Sept.
Hatred of
kings.

Danton possessed a great fund of natural eloquence, which supplied the defects of education, and enabled him often by a powerful exertion to dash to pieces the flimsy structure of Brissotine declamations. They brought ready-made speeches to the convention, and read them in the tribune with an affected grace. He, acting from the impulse of the moment, obeying the dictates of his impetuous passions, and yielding to the fury of his gigantic conceptions, poured forth, in unadorned language, those stupendous and terrific ideas which infused into his hearers all the passions by which he himself was agitated, and produced all the most daring exertions which marked the revolution. He never wrote or printed a discourse¹, but the audacity of his conceptions, the terror of his countenance, and the thunder of his voice, left on the mind those impressions which no prepared effusions could eradicate. He possessed this gift of extempore delivery in common with Mirabeau, whom he is said to have chosen as a model². His chief characteristic was decision; he scorned a compromise. Ever occupied about great achievements, he did not stoop to minute points, but was so impetuous in his career, that had his advice been followed, France must have plunged into a war with all Europe, and rejected every attempt at conciliation. He was, I believe, the first who, in the hall of the legislature, declared that the convention ought to consider themselves the enemies of royal power. These were some of his expressions: "At the same time that we give liberty to neighbouring nations, we ought to say to them, 'You must have no more kings; for, while we are surrounded by tyrants, their coalition might endanger our liberty.—*When the French nation sent us hither as deputies, they created a grand committee of the general insurrection of all people against*

¹ Garat's Memoirs, p. 237.

² Pagès, vol. ii. p. 469.

" all

"all the kings in the universe". He repeated a similar sentiment in the Jacobin club, when Dumouriez made his appearance there after the retreat of the king of Prussia. "Under your direction, the republican pike shall, every where, break the regal sceptre, and thrones shall vanish before the red cap with which this society has honoured you".

With these sentiments, it may naturally be supposed that he was very active in promoting the trial of the unfortunate Louis. Brissot tells us, that two or three months before that event, Danton entertained no intention of bringing him to the scaffold, but told Guadet, Petion, and ten others, besides Brissot himself, that he thought imprisonment the most proper and politic determination^c. I think it very improbable, considering the violent animosity which subsisted between Danton and the Brissotine faction, at the period alluded to, considering the severity with which he was treated in Brissot's paper^d, and his competition with Guadet for the presidency of the convention^e, that he should have disclosed to any of these persons his private sentiments on any subject. He was one of the most ardent in forwarding the trial, and actually made a motion that the convention should employ themselves upon it without intermission till it was brought to a conclusion^f. His disposition on this subject was so well known, that it created general surprise when he accepted the office of commissioner, and went, before the trial, to superintend the army in Belgium. This circumstance, however, is thus accounted for. M. Bertrand, who had then retired to England, fearing the ill effects of the violence and inveteracy displayed

14th Oct.

Conduct
respecting
the king.

18th Oct.

30th Nov.

11th Dec.
M. de Ber-
trand's
letter.

^a Debates. Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 61.

^b Robespierre à ses Commettans, vol. i. p. 51. Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 158.

^c Brissot à ses Commettans, p. 18. n.

^d Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 235.

^e Debates. Political State, vol. ii. p. 659.

^f Debates. Mercure François, N° du 8 Decembre 1793, p. 108.

by Danton, wrote him a letter, stating, that among the papers received from M. de Montmorin, there was one containing an account of the sums received by Danton from the civil list, for what services, and by whose hands; that a letter of Danton's own writing would prove the fact; and threatening, unless he behaved on the king's trial as became a man so well paid, he would communicate the papers in his possession to the convention, and have them placarded in every street in Paris. M. de Bertrand, it is true, had seen the papers in question, but never had them in his possession. By this pious deceit, however, he silenced one of the king's most tremendous adversaries². Danton returned from the army in time to vote for the king's death. On the first question he barely said—"Guilty:—Yes, I affirm it." He counteracted the effect of the argument, that, "as judges, no less than two-thirds of the convention could form a sufficient majority to condemn," by observing, "That as the convention represented the people, they ought, like them, to judge by an absolute majority: That such a majority was sufficient to decide the question of war, or, in other words, the condemnation of many thousands." He combated the appeal to the people, and voted for death, with execution of the sentence in twenty-four hours. This must have been a period of dreadful agitation to Danton; for between the fear of M. Bertrand's threatened publication, and that of offending his own party, he must have sustained as much alarm as he was capable of feeling.

16th Jan.
1793.

Transac-
tions in
Belgium,

During their stay in Belgium, Danton and his fellow-commissioner la Croix practised every violence and excess, and excited the inhabitants of the conquered territories to render themselves worthy of an union with France by imitating the conduct of that country, by establishing the guillotine, and by

² Bertrand's Private Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 231.

plundering

plundering the clergy ^h. They succeeded in some degree, though not to the extent they wished; but in another point, that of self-aggrandizement, their success was ample and speedy; Danton's share amounted to one million four hundred thousand livres ⁱ, (61,250 *l.*) and the other commissioner, the general, and many more were fortunate in proportion. It has been suggested that this profitable mission was a bait laid by Robespierre to ensnare Danton, of whom he began to be jealous, by means of his avarice ^k.

After the king's execution, Danton employed himself in forwarding the operations of the war, and in promoting the views of his party. To Danton are owing those grand military expedients which have astonished all mankind; the rising *en masse*, the requisition, and the liberation of debtors to recruit the armies. The revolutionary tribunal, the revolutionary army, and the revolutionary committees, likewise owed their organization to his genius ^l. The desertion of Dumouriez produced an accusation against him, founded on the friendship known to subsist between him and that general, and their connection with Orleans. The charge was conducted by la Source; but Danton, by ingeniously converting the arguments of criminality against the Brissotines, secured the favor of the Mountain and the galleries, and was acquitted ^m. There can be no doubt that Danton was long a violent partisan of Orleans, and, even in the mysterious conspiracy of the 10th of March, had assisted at the cabinet councils of Charenton; but the impenetrable obscurity in which that affair is involved, leaves it totally doubtful at what precise period he abandoned his first patron ⁿ.

and in the
conven-
tion.

1st April.
De-
nounced.

^h Life of General Dumouriez, vol. iii. p. 376. 400. 416.

ⁱ Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 88. 128.

^k Etat de la France, par M. de Montgaillard, p. 67.

^l Idem, p. 67. Garat's Memoirs, p. 240. Debates, Histories.

^m Debates. Political State, vol. iii. p. 471.

ⁿ Garat's Memoirs, p. 270.

Although

His conduct towards the Brissotines.

Although Danton was a strenuous mountaineer, he does not seem to have entered fully into the views of Robespierre and Marat against the opposing party. Garat attributes this to an extreme tenderness and humanity; qualities little to be expected in Danton. It was at one time proposed to him that the persons whose animosities hindered the convention from attending to the public good, should retire; he acceded to the proposition with transport, but when it was mentioned by Barrere in the legislature he afforded no countenance to the motion. His conduct certainly was equivocal, and betrayed some symptoms of a wish to return to virtue and moderation, which prevented the more violent Jacobins from intrusting him with the full extent of their views.

31st May.

He was given to understand that Brissot and Gensonné only were meant to be destroyed by the insurrection then in agitation; and when he came to the hall of the convention the day it was carried into effect, he answered Garat, who interrogated him as to its object, that nothing was intended but the destruction of a few printing presses*. In the progress of the contest, when Henriot refused to permit the members to leave the hall, he displayed the most violent indignation, and denounced vengeance on the head of the ruffian†.

Examination of his views.

From this period Danton gave way to his natural indolence and love of luxury. He resided principally at Arcis-sur-Aube, in a style which convinced every one that he was a *sans culotte* only in name‡. He is said to have been shocked at the progress of Robespierre's crimes, and the duration of the revolutionary government, and to have meditated a new system in which personal animosities should have been forgotten, and the Mountain and Plain united

* Garat's Memoirs, p. 174. 177. 233, 234.

† Miss Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. i. p. 74.

‡ Brissot à ses Commettans, p. 32. 135. Roland's Appeal, &c.

for the benefit of the republic'. This account is not without some appearance of probability, for though Danton, in compliance with the fashion of the times, was as violent as ever in his language when he spoke in public, yet many of his turbulent speeches contained merciful sentiments; and though he strengthened the powers of the two committees, he seems to have entertained a wish to mitigate their severities. But these are mere conjectures, for his conduct was so mixed that little of his positive views can be determined; and the reports of friends, or of persons less informed, respecting intentions not visibly demonstrated, must be received with extreme caution. He promoted the cruelties and injustice practised on the merchants of Marseilles, and was a strenuous advocate for rigor in most departments of the administration. On the other hand, he was an advocate for the gradual, instead of too sudden abolition of slavery; spoke in favor of allowing salaries to the priests, who, having abjured their sacerdotal character, were true republicans; and of mitigating the severities against ex-nobles'.

11th Aug.

5th Feb.

1794.

22d Nov.

1793.

23d Feb.

1794.

Enmity
of Robespierre.

Whatever might be his views respecting his country, he does not seem to have entertained any animosity against Robespierre; on the contrary, the most perfect union appeared to subsist between them. Danton had attempted, like Mirabeau, to obtain a decree for uniting the ministerial to the legislative character; in this he was not supported by Robespierre, and failed; but when he was accused of being an accomplice of Dumouriez, and on another occasion, when a letter supposed to be his, but apparently fabricated by the fugitive Brissotines, was read in the convention, Robespierre defended and applauded him'. Yet in secret Robespierre is said to have

9th Mar.

1793.

1st April,

1793.

21st Aug.

1793.

* Garat's Memoirs, p. 242, 243, 244. See also Pagès, vol. ii. p. 203, 304, &c.

† See Debates. Garat's Memoirs, p. 240.

‡ See Debates.

envied

envied and hated Danton, and to have resolved on his destruction long before an opportunity presented itself for carrying his project into effect. Danton struggled very little for the attainment of supreme power, and it is very probable that vanity had its share in influencing his forbearance; he was conscious of the superiority of his own powers to those of his political rivals, and thought that he who had been so instrumental in making, could with equal ease destroy them when he thought proper, and he fell into the common error of fancying popularity a secure and stable tenure, of which being once possessed, he could continue to hold it without exertion and in spite of intrigue^u. But Robespierre, who aimed at ruling alone, and who dreaded a rival so formidable as Danton, marked him for destruction long before he permitted any signs of his intentions to be visible. He saw with pleasure the attack made on him by Hebert, who insidiously undermined his character by reprobating the rich patriots in one of the numbers of his *Pere Duchesne*^v. It was most convenient to Robespierre to cut off Hebert and his party first; the services Danton had recently rendered him, and his influence with the public, as well on account of his services, as through his party in the convention and the committees, prevented an immediate and undisguised attack; but his getting *en mauvaise odeur* was a circumstance perfectly agreeable to the views of Maximilian. Danton was so unconscious of what was contriving against him, so wrapt up in enjoyment and security, that he continued to cement the power of his ungrateful and perfidious friend, while he was resolutely pursuing his downfall. On the arrestation of Fabre d'Eglantine, Chabot, Bazire, and Delaunay,

29th Mar.
1794.

^u See *Etat de la France*, p. 24. *Pages*, vol. ii. p. 173. *Miss Williams's Letters in 1794*, vol. ii. p. 23 and 24. vol. iii. p. 71.

^v *Roland's Appeal*, vol. i. p. 175.

he

he pleaded strongly against their being heard at the bar of the convention, and for the confidence of that body in the two committees. A very few days after he was arrested by an emanation of the same power; and the motion of his friend Legendre, that he should be heard at the bar, over-ruled by a repetition of the substance of his own argument.

Some people have asserted^y, and a negligent compiler of an annual publication has repeated it^z, that, "a short time before the arrest of Danton, an interview was brought about between them by the influence of a common friend, in the hope of effecting a reconciliation. Danton, after a long conversation, finding it impossible to make an impression on his implacable rival, who heard him with a look of insult and malignity, is said to have burst into tears, and to have left the room with the prophetic exclamation, I see that my fate is decided, but my death will be your ruin." It would be too much to assert that this anecdote is entirely devoid of foundation, but it bears internal evidence of falsity, as it is repugnant to the characters of the two actors in the scene. It is hardly possible for any person who has contemplated the conduct of Robespierre, to frame an idea of his warning his victim, and expostulating with him personally before he struck. It is almost as impossible to imagine Danton quietly awaiting the meditated injury without resource either in policy or courage, abandoned to despair, and lamenting his fate with tears. The fall of Danton did certainly contribute more than all his crimes to precipitate Robespierre from his eminence^a, by uniting through fear, resulting from experienced ingratitude, a powerful party in the convention and the committees; but

10th Mar.
1794.
is arrested.

His fall
injurious
to Robespierre.

^y Miss Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. ii. p. 27.

^z New Annual Register for 1794, p. 355.

^a Conspiracy of Robespierre, p. 203.

Danton alone, had he obtained information of the intended proceeding, could have rallied that party around his own person, divided the Jacobins, created an insurrection, and have disputed the reins of power with the wary dictator himself. He had, if we believe implicitly his declarations while in prison, some indirect intimation of what was in contemplation, but not sufficient to excite alarm, or induce immediate preparation for his defence^b.

His conduct in prison.

It is a singularity well worthy to be recorded, that Hebert, Chaumette, Robespierre, and Danton, in their respective turns, all occupied the same cell in the Conciergerie. Hebert behaved with the utmost feebleness, and fainted away. Robespierre, stretched out on a bed, wounded, and in the most excruciating tortures, seemed like a man just awaking from a long dream^c. Danton talked much, and affected to give an apophthegmatical turn to his phrases, hoping by the repetition of them that they would impress themselves on the minds of the public, and inspire a party to avenge his cause. Too well acquainted with the parties who had devoted him to destruction to expect a fair trial, he bent to his fate with a good grace, and exerted himself to create such a share of commiseration and respect as might excite and keep alive the flame of revenge. Yet it was sufficiently obvious he only acted a part; there was a sort of cant, a glossy affectation in what he said, which never proceeds from the heart. "This day twelvemonth," said he, "I procured the institution of the revolutionary tribunal, for which I ask pardon of God and man; I did it, not with a view to its becoming the scourge of humanity, but to prevent a renewal of the scenes of the second of September." Hypocrite! He also launched out affectedly into the praises of a country

^b *Memoirs d'un Déténu*, p. 73.

^c *Tableau des Prisons sous Robespierre*.

life,

life, wished himself a poor fisherman, declaimed on the beauties of nature, and "babbled of green fields." All these things were expressed in his usual style, with a mixture of execrations and obscenities^d.

Before the revolutionary tribunal he behaved with stern imperiousness: being asked his name and abode, he answered that his abode would soon be a non-entity, but his name would live in the pantheon of history. He refused to answer interrogatories, unless confronted by his accusers Barrere and Robespierre, and amused himself while they were putting them to him, by shooting paper bullets in the face of the president. His behaviour animated Camille Desmoulins, and the rest who were tried with him, except Fabre d'Eglantine, who was enfeebled by illness and overwhelmed with fear. The president was obliged to dispatch a messenger to the convention, and obtain a decree empowering the jury to pass sentence on refractory prisoners; but Robespierre and Barrere refused to attend, on pretence that there was a plot to assassinate them. Though Danton had no hope of saving his life, he made a defence that it might be transmitted to the public. In vain the president endeavoured to silence him, his Stentorian voice drowned the tinkling of the bell. "Prisoner," said the magistrate, "do you not hear the bell?" "President," answered Danton, "the voice of a man defending his life and character ought to silence your bell." The people, unused to such boldness, expressed their disapprobation in murmurs. "People," cried he, "form your judgment of me when you have heard me, what I say ought to be heard, not by you only, but by all France"; before six months are past, you will

5th April
1794.
Defence
before the
revolutionary
tribunal.

^d Memoires d'un Déténu, p. 73. Miss Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. ii. p. 27.

* Etat de la France, p. 76.

“tear to pieces those who now sit in judgment on me, as well as the scoundrels by whose orders I am brought to trial. They have reduced you to slavery, and are now daily sacrificing you.” He was at length prevailed on to retire, under pretence of taking some refreshment, and, in his absence, condemned by virtue of the decree against contumacious prisoners, which had been just obtained from the convention^f.

His execution.

Sentence was passed on him at three o'clock in the afternoon, and at six he was carried to the guillotine^g. He submitted to his fate with fortitude, and even affected an extraordinary degree of pleasantry. He quibbled with Fabre d'Eglantine, the poet, on the word *vers*, which signifies *worms*, as well as *verses*. “*Nous allons tous être poètes, car nous ferons des vers*,” was his pun. He conversed cheerfully as he sat in the cart with his fellow sufferers, and answered the insults of the mob by looks of piercing contempt and indignation. His boldness in meeting death procured respect and even sympathy, which his general character would not have excited, and which was assiduously kept alive by those of his friends, who were leagued against the tyrant Robespierre. They spread with diligence the report that his bare head as he went to the place of execution, resembled that of Socrates in the antique gems^h. Such an association was a compliment to his character; but by the most authentic accounts of the philosopher, it was none to his physiognomy.

His person, manners, and genius.

Danton was not tall but broad, with lungs of uncommon strength, and a face marked by a variety of strong and uncontrolable passions. Madame Ro-

^f For an account of his trial, see also New Annual Register for 1794, p. 356, 357, 358. Political State of Europe, vol. vi. p. 233. 235. 238. 337. 341. Playfair's History of Jacobinism, p. 625, 626.

^g Playfair's Jacobinism, p. 599.

^h Miss Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. ii. p. 30.

land portrays him forcibly, and though a prejudiced reporter, her means of information were so good, and her description is so strong as to merit attention. "Contemplating his forbidding and "savage features, I could not bring myself to associate the idea of a good man with such a countenance. "I never saw any thing that so perfectly characterized the violence of brutal passions, and the "most astonishing audacity, half cloaked under a "jovial air, and the affectation of frankness and a "sort of simplicity. My imagination has often "figured to me Danton, with a dagger in his hand, "encouraging by his voice and action a troop "of assassins, more timid or less ferocious than "himself, or, sated with crimes, indicating his habits "and propensities by the gestures of a Sardanapalus. I would defy an expert painter not to find "in the person of Danton all the requisites for such "a composition¹." Dr. Moore's description is equally forcible, though less expanded. He compares him with Roland. "Danton is not so tall, "but much broader than Roland; his form is "coarse and uncommonly robust: Roland's manner is unassuming and modest, that of Danton "fierce and boisterous; he speaks with the voice "of Stentor, declaims on the blessings of freedom "with the arrogance of a tyrant, and invites to "union and friendship with the frown of an "enemy²." His mind and genius are thus delineated by Garat³, but some allowances must be made for the avowed partiality of a friend, and some assertions which are not historically true. "Danton's "celebrity began in the Cordelier club, which he "rendered famous. The great places of the revolution were already pre-occupied in the system of

¹ Appeal, vol. i. p. 86.

² Journal, vol. ii. p. 242.

³ Memoirs, p. 235 to 239.

“ liberty associated with a throne. Danton, who
 “ still wished for a place, first conceived the plan of
 “ turning France into a republic. There are two
 “ ways which may be taken in order to accomplish a
 “ great political change in a state. Either the inno-
 “ vators produce a change of opinion, which of
 “ course changes powers and institutions; or they
 “ overthrow institutions and powers, by which a
 “ consequent change of opinion is also effected.
 “ The first way is the longest, and is to be slowly
 “ travelled. The second is not a road but a preci-
 “ pice to be passed over; it requires but one bold
 “ leap, and but a moment of time. It was the
 “ latter which best suited the boldness, the sluggish-
 “ ness, the ardent, yet indolent character of Danton.
 “ He began, therefore, with disturbing and con-
 “ founding every thing. When almost all were
 “ anarchists with grand views, requiring for their
 “ instruments all the passions of the people; Dan-
 “ ton was a greater anarchist than any one else.
 “ Petty successes he never contested with any one,
 “ and this was the reason why all concurred to aid
 “ him in attaining the greatest successes. He had
 “ in him something which I cannot describe, but
 “ which drew men about him, to make themselves
 “ his instruments, and to await his orders. He
 “ was, if the phrase may be allowed, a great lord of
 “ the rabble. When you first approached him, his
 “ figure and voice were terrible. He knew it, and
 “ was not ill-pleased with the idea; for the more
 “ fear he commanded, so much the less ill was he
 “ obliged to do. He had that invention, that in-
 “ stinctive apprehension of *the great*, which con-
 “ stitutes genius; and that silent circumspection in
 “ which consists the majesty of reason. His imagina-
 “ tion, and that species of eloquence, an eloquence
 “ singularly adapted to his figure, his voice, and his
 “ stature, were those of a demagogue. His first views
 “ of

“ of men and things were quick, correct, and impartial.
 “ He possessed that solid practical prudence which
 “ experience alone can confer. He knew hardly
 “ any thing. He did not pretend to foresee ; but he
 “ opened his eyes and beheld. In public assemblies
 “ he uttered some expressions which were long re-
 “ membered. In private company he was silent,
 “ and listened with interested attention when those
 “ around him talked little, with astonishment when
 “ they said a great deal. He excited Camille Des-
 “ moulins to speak : he endured the prattle of Fabre
 “ d’Eglantine. Such was the man who was almost
 “ adored by his friends, and whom his enemies
 “ ought to have treated with that delicacy and for-
 “ bearing which the interests of the republic de-
 “ manded.”

The following description of him, by an anonymous author^m, will correct the partiality of Garat, and convey, in much fewer words, a full representation of his genius and character. “ I do not pretend to compare Robespierre to Danton. The
 “ first was a sanguinary idiot ; he had the genius of
 “ a pettifogger, with the soul of a Sylla ; he was a
 “ non-descript monster for whom no comparison
 “ can be found. Danton had a very crooked mind,
 “ but he possessed at heart some sentiments of
 “ humanity. He had the instinct, rather than the
 “ genius of a great man. His ideas were so exag-
 “ gerated that *he proposed to put all aristocrats out of* 27th Mar.
 “ *the protection of the law.* He concerted the revo- 1793.
 “ lutionary tribunal and army, but he directed none
 “ of their operations. He was destroyed by his
 “ own contrivance, like a child playing with gun-
 “ powder. He felt the necessity of creating ob-
 “ stacles, and a resisting power, and in that instance
 “ displayed a real greatness of understanding. He

^m Tableau des Prisons sous Robespierre.

“ was extravagant, destructive, improvident, cruel
“ in his means, without regularity or foresight ;
“ in these respects he was below mediocrity, and a
“ scourge of his species. Afraid that the chariot of
“ the revolution did not proceed with sufficient
“ rapidity, he kept continually adding fresh horses,
“ till it was carried away into an abyis, and himself
“ crushed beneath the wheels.”

CAMILLE DESMOULINS.

CAMILLE Desmoulins was a fellow-collegian of Robespierre^a, and like him a student of jurisprudence. His society refused to call him to the bar after he had completed his studies, and he was in great distress before the revolution. Desmoulins had some talents, a considerable share of wit, and a knack at versifying; he gained a subsistence by flattering ministers, and occasionally drew scanty supplies from de Brienne and Lamoignon^b. His abilities in this way procured the protection of the duke of Orleans, who employed him for some time before the capture of the Bastille as a coffee-house and garden orator in the Palais Royal^c. He was ill qualified for public speaking, as he had a heavy disagreeable appearance, a painful delivery, a bad ear, and a deficiency of words^d.

His education.

1789.
Patronized
by Or-
leans.

He rendered his party a remarkable service, and was the founder of a distinction which the country has ever since retained. When Pepin, the hawk, was brought wounded into the garden of the Palais Royal, Camille, taking advantage of the public indignation, leaped on a table, with a pistol in each hand, and cried *to arms! to arms!* He afterwards made an harangue, in which he advised the partisans

11th July.
Origin of
the na-
tional
cockade.

^a Miss Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. ii. p. 24.

^b Conspiracy of Robespierre, p. 125.

^c Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. i. p. 221. Conspiracy of Robespierre, p. 126. Pagès, vol. ii. p. 15. 17. 172.

^d Conspiracy of Robespierre, p. 126.

^e See History of the Brissotines, p. 8. Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 414. Pagès, vol. ii. p. 204. Lettre d'un François à un Anglois, p. 9, &c.

of freedom to distinguish themselves by a cockade; he wished them to adopt red and blue, the colours of the duke of Orleans, but ashamed to propose it directly, asked what colour they would wear, yellow, red, blue, green? *Green*, contrary to his expectation, was re-echoed by the multitude, and that being, as he called it, the colour of hope, was adopted for the day; but on the morrow, when the national guard was formed, it was changed for red and blue, to which was added, to avoid a demonstration of partiality too decided, a stripe of white^a.

Writes a
journal.

After the capture of the Bastille he became proprietor of a journal, which he called *Le Courier de Brabant*, in which he commenced the practice afterwards more successfully pursued by Hebert and Marat, that of pointing out individuals to the vengeance of the mob; and he assumed, at the suggestion of Mirabeau, the ominous title of *procureur general de la lanterne*^b. In this journal he often displayed that coarse kind of wit which is best adapted to the intellects of the vulgar; but his frequent denunciations were attended with the most baleful effects to the peace of society, and excited compunction in his latter days, when, possessed of affluence, he looked back with horror to actions to which he had been impelled by want. He was at this period a furious demagogue^c, intimate with the cabinet of the *Palais Royal*, and in the confidence of Mirabeau, with whom he passed a whole fortnight previous to the fifth of October^d.

He was a violent Jacobin and Cordelier, and carried the atrocity of his journal to such an excess, that Malouet commenced a prosecution against him, and denounced him to the national assembly. When

^a Conjuraton de d'Orleans, p. 49.

^b Playfair's History of Jacobinism, p. 205. Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 94. Conspiracy of Robespierre, p. 126.

^c Pagès, vol. ii. p. 15.

^d History of the Brissotines, p. 8. 10.

Malouet

Malouet made his speech, Desmoulins took his seat in the gallery; in the course of the harangue, Malouet apostrophized the delinquent, and exclaimed, "Will he dare to justify himself?" Camille, yielding to the impulse of the moment, and forgetful of danger, replied from his seat, "Yes, I dare;" and instantly escaped; the assembly passed a decree against him, which was, however, repealed the next day. What renders this incident remarkable is, that Malouet's father, in a cause brought before the parliament of Paris, had been similarly apostrophized, and had made the same answer⁷. Desmoulins was one of the most active promoters of the petition in the *Champ de Mars*, which occasioned the calling out of the military, and was, in consequence of that transaction, obliged to seek refuge at Marseilles⁸. Yet it is probable he only acted venally, as he had continued intimately connected with Mirabeau, after he had sold himself to the court, and with la Fayette, who then opposed the proceedings sanctioned by Camille⁹. This affair occasioned his rejection as an elector of Paris for the approaching legislature; he petitioned the constituent assembly on this supposed injustice; Petion supported the petition, but the assembly passed to the order of the day¹⁰.

17th July
1791.
Promotes
the peti-
tion, and
absconds.

During the sitting of the legislative assembly, he began, in compliance with the prevailing mode, to write in favor of a republic¹¹, and attended the legislature with a petition against the *veto* opposed to the decree against emigrants, conceived in the most virulent language, and subscribed by three hundred persons¹². He quarrelled with Brissot, against whom he commenced a paper war¹³, and attached himself

5th Sept.

Becomes a
republi-
can.
11th Dec.
1791.

1792.

⁷ Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 242, 243.

⁸ Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 414. *Mercure François*, No. du 30 Juillet 1791, p. 399.

⁹ Conspiracy of Robespierre, p. 126. Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 153.

¹⁰ Debates.

¹¹ Historical Sketch, p. 311.

¹² Debates.

¹³ *Mercure François*, No. du 19 Mai 1792, p. 208.

to Danton. He and Robespierre were the only Jacobins who opposed the project of hostilities^f. On the disgrace of his friend la Fayette, he deserted his cause, and joined his most inveterate persecutors^g.

20th Aug.
Assists in
the insur-
rection.

He materially assisted the success of the insurrection in August, by preparing the public mind for acts of barbarity, and preaching in favor of anarchy, and a renewal of the Valerian law, which made it allowable to kill a man suspected of disloyalty to the state, provided the crime was afterwards proved^h. As he was not deficient in personal courage, he was, probably, an active assistant in the contest; he was made one of the new council general of the communeⁱ. His friend Danton, while he was minister, proposed to Roland to commence a journal for the purpose of biasing the public mind, under the conduct of Camille; but Roland did not favor the scheme, and the quarrel which speedily broke out between him and Danton entirely frustrated it^k.

Member
of the con-
vention.

By the friendship of Danton, however, he was made secretary to the great seal, and there is reason to believe, that he partook in, or, at least, connived at the massacres of September^l. He was elected member of the convention for Paris, but as a deputy he made no great figure, his eloquence was better calculated for the Jacobin club. The first instance of his exertion which falls under my notice, is his opposition to the decree for banishing for ever the unfortunate emigrants, a measure which he compared to the revocation of the edict of Nantz. On the king's trial he acted like a genuine mountaineer, enforcing the punishment of the king, and opposing

23d Oct.

^f *Mercure François*, No. du 7 Avril 1792, p. 67.

^g See Jordan's *Political State of Europe*, vol. ii. p. 174.

^h Peltier's late *Picture of Paris*, vol. i. p. 37. Moore's *Journal*, vol. i. p. 496.

ⁱ Peltier's late *Picture*, vol. ii. p. 213.

^k Roland's *Appeal*, vol. i. p. 90.

^l See Peltier's late *Picture*, vol. ii. p. 81. 482.

the appeal to the people, and every other measure tending to procure delay or afford a chance of acquittal. In the course of the second *appel nominal*,^{1793.} he lost his temper so far, as to assert that some of^{17th Jan.} the members had been bribed, which drew on him the censure of the convention, and he was called to order^m. His argument against the appeal to the people is published, and exhibits a remarkable specimen of feeble reasoning, and of unrelenting cruelty, affecting patriotism. The plan of a decree with which he concluded his speech, is too remarkable to be omitted. "This," says Camille, "is my plan of a decree: 1. The national convention decrees, that Louis Capet has deserved death. 2. Decrees, in consequence, that a scaffold shall be prepared in the *place du Carrousel*, to which Louis shall be led, with a label on his breast inscribed with these words, PERJURED, AND A TRAITOR TO THE NATION, and on his back another label with the word KING, to shew to all mankind, that the degeneracy of nations cannot, even by a lapse of fifteen hundred years, afford a prescriptive sanction to the crime of royalty. 3. Further decrees, that the vault of the royal family at St. Dennis shall, for the future, be the burying-place of thieves, murderers, and traitors. 4. That the minister of justice, and commandant of the national guard, shall, within four-and-twenty hours, give an account of the execution of this decree."

Camille was member of the committee of public safety, but having married a young lady of considerable property, and being otherwise enriched in the course of the revolution, he seems to have neglected public business, and attended very little to the proceedings in the convention. In the progress of the contest between the mountain and the

Writes
against the
Brissot-
ines.

^m Debates. ⁿ Robespierre à ses Commettans, vol. ii. p. 62. 90.

Brissotines,

29th May
1793.

Brissotines, he distinguished himself by an answer to Brissot's address to his constituents, which was first delivered as two speeches at the Jacobin club, and afterwards published by the order of that society. It is translated into English, and called "the History of the Brissotines." It is written in a style peculiar to the author, and contains, in a short space, flagitious sentiments, grievous accusations, abject adulation, and forced conceits*. On this pamphlet, it is said, the act of accusation against the Brissotines was founded, and it is called by those who make the assertion, a *sportive* party romance†. The term *sportive* does not apply to this more than any other writing or speech of Desmoulins, and the facts stated in the act of accusation, which could be derived from that essay, were notorious, and had been often repeated in the convention, in the Jacobin club, and in print. Camille does not, however, appear to have assisted personally in the expulsion and proscription of the duputies; he was not present at the crisis of the dispute; and when, near six weeks afterwards, he was accused of incivism on account of his absence, alleged illness as an excuse.

20th July.

His attachment
to Dillon.
20th and
22th July.

His friendship for general Dillon exposed him to imminent danger; he opposed the decree of accusation against him with great boldness and perseverance; Breard accused him of a connection with aristocrats, of favouring their projects, and absenting himself from the convention‡. This accusation, and his own pertinacity, reduced him to the necessity of submitting his character to the severe scrutiny of the Jacobin club. By the patronage of Robespierre he escaped, because the tyrant had then further occa-

* See History of the Brissotines, an 8vo. pamphlet in 63 pages, published for Owen, Piccadilly, 1794. Also Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 478. n.

† See Miss Williams's Letters, vol. i. p. 157. Pages, vol. ii. p. 167.

‡ Debates.

sion for his services. He was employed to decry Hebert, which he did with great wit and humour; he brought his journal into such disrepute, and threw so much odium on his person and principles, that he was an easy victim to the revenge or fear of Robespierre. On this occasion, Camille was actuated by no virtuous motive, he merely performed a task; the outlines of his essays are said to have been marked out by his employer, and he was probably selected for the task, because Hebert had exposed himself to his assaults by an unprovoked attack.¹

1794.
Writes
against
Hebert.

It is said that he formed a political project with Danton, to relax the system of terror, terminate the revolutionary government, and establish a constitution on such a basis, as to admit the co-operation of parties.² Whether this, or some less extensive and more personal motive guided him, he began, in his paper called *Le Vieux Cordelier*, to condemn the frequency of arrests, and make objections to other parts of the revolutionary system.³ For this offence he had been reprov'd by Barrere in one of his reports, but the fall of Hebert not being then effected, no farther notice was taken of it. Some time afterwards, he ridiculed St. Just, and observed that he carried his head like the holy sacrament.⁴ This attack and his supposed attachment to Danton exasperated Robespierre, and Camille and Danton were both arrested the same night.

against
St. Just.

26th Dec.
1793.

30th Mar.
1794.
Is arrested.

He had so little reason to apprehend that he was devoted to destruction, that he was more affected by Robespierre's unkindness than any other circumstance of his fortune. That dissembling tyrant, the evening before his arrest, had spoken to him with

Tried and
executed.

¹ Miss Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. ii. p. 15. Conspiracy of Robespierre, p. 126.

² Garat's Memoirs, p. 243. 245.

³ See Pagès, vol. ii. p. 172. 203. Miss Williams's Letters, vol. ii. p. 25.

⁴ Conspiracy of Robespierre, p. 134.

greater

ad April. greater kindness than ever^y. He was brought before the revolutionary tribunal with Danton and seven more, but knowing the judges, he refused to make any defence, and amused himself by turning his act of accusation into burlesque. The president of the tribunal, embarrassed by this contumacious proceeding, obtained from the convention a decree, enabling him to pass sentence on the culprit, without further investigation^z. Desmoulins bore his fate with courage and even pleasantry; he wrote just before his execution a tender and affectionate letter to his wife^a. He suffered death at the age of thirty-three, an age which he made remarkable by a profane allusion to the period of our Saviour's residence on earth^b. He went to the scaffold indignant at the cowardice of the people, and enraged at having been duped by Robespierre^c. He

^y *Memoires d'un Déténu*, p. 75.

^z See Miss Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. ii. p. 29. *New Annual Register*, p. 356.

^a See journals and news-papers. The wife of Camille Desmoulins was natural daughter of a person of considerable property, endowed with an extraordinary share of beauty. She brought her husband, with whom she lived in a state of exemplary felicity, a considerable fortune. In a few days after his execution she was brought to the same end, by the following circumstance: Arthur Dillon being in prison, and hearing of his friend Camille's arrest, wrote a letter to Madame Desmoulins, expressing his sorrow for her situation, and inclosing a draft for three thousand livres (131 l. 5 s.). The turnkey, whom he requested to forward the letter, refused to do it, upon which the general slipped it into his pocket; the jailor returned it, and he tore it to pieces. This transaction being, soon after the death of Camille, reported to the committee of public safety, madame Desmoulins was apprehended. Her youth, beauty, and candour, the iniquity of condemning her because a letter had been written which it was proved she never received, were insufficient to save her from the sentence of the sanguinary wretches who sat as judges. She went to the scaffold the 9th April 1794, dressed in white, her eyes yet inflamed with weeping for her husband; but resigned, tranquil, and cheerful. Even the Parisian mob, accustomed to sights of horror, cheered her passage with the consolatory murmurs of commiseration. "How beautiful she is! How mild she looks! What a pity she should die!" were general exclamations. She submitted to the executioner with the placid resignation of conscious innocence. See Miss Williams's Letters, vol. ii. p. 31. 36. *New Annual Register* for 1794, p. 358.

^b Goudemetz's Epochs, p. 89. Playfair's History of Jacobinism, p. 623, &c.

^c *Memoires d'un Déténu*, p. 73.

made a remark on that tyrant's mode of proceeding which probably precipitated his downfall, by increasing the inveteracy of the party against him. "*Robespierre*," said he, "*fait des coups percés de la convention*." A phrase not easily rendered in English, but which alludes to the manner in which persons cut down woods, by marking out certain lots of trees to be felled^d. Camille Desmoulins appears to have wanted steadiness in his party attachments, but never to have meditated seriously the destruction of those he abandoned. His writings are not deficient in sprightliness, but he is far from meriting the eulogium of Pagès, who describes him as a profound and ingenious author, formed on the models of Tacitus and Suetonius, distinguished by originality of style, and by the dexterity with which he handled the keen weapons of ridicule^e. He is allowed to have been endowed with wit, though deficient in prudence^f, and his credulity and simplicity acquired him the title of the La Fontaine of the revolution^g.

^d Miss Williams's Letters, vol. ii. p. 26.

^e Histoire Secrete, vol. ii. p. 171.

^f Conspiracy of Robespierre, p. 125.

^g Pagès, vol. ii. p. 173.

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DUMOURIEZ.

THE extraordinary rise and rapid fall of Dumouriez have occasioned so much curiosity, and given birth to so many conjectures, that numerous accounts of him have been published, either separately or in the course of other histories. His character is variously portrayed, and every quality, virtuous or vicious, has been profusely attributed or tenaciously withheld. He has published his own life, in which he dilates on his conduct and motives with all the ardor of self-love, and all the complacency of self-approbation. In his exordium, he says of himself, that "in the course of a motley and very active life, he cannot discover a single incident which ought to put him to the blush^b." From a candid examination of facts, of the statements of others, and of his own exculpatory narrative, let us consider how far he is entitled to this eulogium.

In relating the adventures of his early life, I have followed the line laid down in his own biographical production, though not without frequent reference to the publications of others. All his transactions previous to the revolution are compressed as much as possible. His military exploits, except those well known facts which are detailed in the gazettes, belong, as yet, to secret history; and any attempt to speak decisively on the operating motives of himself and

^b Life of General Dumouriez, p. 1.

his adversaries in the campaigns of 1792 and 1793, would only display the temerity of the author. For this forbearance I have a respectable precedent, ap-
 positely expressed by Montjoye. He says, "*Je ne
 "dirai pas comme bien des gens, que Dumouriez n'a
 "enfoncé que des portes ouvertes; ce style epigram-
 "matique n'est pas digne de l'histoire; elle doit attendre
 "pour fixer la place de Dumouriez parmi les guerriers,
 "que les événemens militaires auxquels il a eu part soient
 "mieux connus*." I must, however, premise, that
 his valor is acknowledged even by his enemies, and
 that a very competent judge, and one who cannot
 be suspected of favorable prepossession, M. de Bouillé,
 speaks highly of his military talents^k.

Dumouriez^l was born at Cambray; his father ^{25th Jan.}
 was descended from the younger branch of a family ^{1739.}
 in Provence, of the *noblesse de la robe*, named Du- ^{His birth}
 perier. The numerous family of his paternal grand- ^{and family.}
 father, who had twenty-four sons and eight daugh-
 ters, induced several of them to assume the name of
 Mouriez, which belonged to the female branch.
 The general's father was one of this number, and
 the name, by Parisian corruption, was afterwards
 called Du Mouriez.

In his infancy, Dumouriez was feeble and rickety; ^{His feeble-}
 the faults of his shape were counteracted by irons, ^{ness.}
 and till he was six years old he was drawn about in
 a little chaise. At that age, a new system was
 adopted towards him, and he grew up very strong
 and hardy.

Dumouriez's father was a good scholar, a poet, ^{His educa-}
 painter, and musician; he had retired from military ^{tion.}
 service to exercise the office of commissary at war, ^{1750.}
 and took on himself the care of instructing his son

^l Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. i. p. 223.

^k Bouillé's Memoires relating to the French Revolution, p. 502.

^l Those particulars, for which no other authority is given, are taken
 entirely from "The Life of Dumouriez, by himself," in three vo-
 lumes, 8vo.

in the rudiments of learning. When he had made a sufficient proficiency, the benevolent parent sent him to the college of *Louis le Grand*, and sacrificed nearly one-fourth of a very confined income^m to his improvement and welfare. He remained at the college three years, and then returned to his father, who instructed him in the English, Italian, Spanish, and Greek languages, gave him lessons in mathematics, history, and politics, and employed a master to teach him grammar.

His various projects of establishment.

In these occupations, Dumouriez employed two years: on his return from college he had announced a desire to enter into a monastery; his father readily conceiving that he had imbibed this inclination from the persuasions, and from the system of reading pointed out to him by the Jesuits, did not oppose it by argument, but counteracted it by directing his attention to another course of study. His sagacity was well rewarded, for, in a few months, his son had renounced his intention of becoming a monk. It was then proposed that he should study the law, but he had a latent predilection for the profession of arms. His health requiring exercise, his father sent him to Versailles, where he stayed a year, and learned to ride in the king's riding-house, and to fence in company with the king's pages.

8th Feb. 1757. Joins the army.

At length the seven years war broke out, and Dumouriez's father being appointed commissary, associated his son with him, and they went together to Maubeuge, to join the army. In this campaign, Dumouriez was employed as *aid-de-camp* to the marquis d'Armentiers; but his father being ordered into East Friesland, he was obliged to attend him. He found, however, an opportunity of performing some military exploits, which exposed him to great danger, and in which he received a contusion.

^m This income was eight thousand livres (350*l*) a-year, and he had two daughters.

After

After the retreat of the French army from the electorate of Hanover, Dumouriez returned to St. Germain-en-Laye, with his father, who was confined with the gravel. His military passion had so much increased, that he privately solicited and obtained a prospect of a cornetcy. With his father's permission, he entered as a volunteer in the *regiment d'Escars*. Several senior volunteers being in the same regiment, he served six months as a trooper; but after the capture of Cherbourg by the English, he took an English officer prisoner, and received a commission. He was employed with seven or eight thousand men to succour Munster, in which he partially succeeded, though the place afterwards surrendered. On this occasion, he received a contusion in the hip from a musket-ball. His regiment was in the next campaign under the command of the count de St. Germain, and formed part of the army with which the marshal de Broglie opposed prince Ferdinand. Dumouriez distinguished himself by his courage, and received, on one occasion, a complimentary gratification of one hundred crowns (12 l. 10 s.). The evening before the battle of Clostercamp, he was taken prisoner, after sustaining several wounds, and defending himself with great obstinacy. His life was saved by Pascal's Provincial Letters, which were in his pocket, and intercepted a musket-ball, but he was wounded over the right eye by a sabre, and received six deep wounds, besides thirteen contusions. He was entertained with great civility by the hereditary prince of Brunswick, who admitted him to his table. He then sent him to Wèzel escorted by the baron de Behr, who had saved his life, and who wrote a commendatory letter to the marquis de Castries, which was afterwards very serviceable to Dumouriez.

When able to travel, he was removed to St. Germain-en-Laye, where his father, having been enriched by a considerable legacy, had purchased an

1758.
Obtains a
commis-
sion.

1759.

1760.

31st Aug.

Is wound-
ed and
taken pri-
soner.

Promoted
to a troop
of horse.

estate. He now found the good effects of the baron de Behr's letter, which had induced the marshal de Belle-Isle, just before his death, to recommend him to the king for a troop of horse and a *Croix de St. Louis*. The marshal's successor, the duke de Choiseul, thought two military promotions at once too much, considering the number of expectants, and desired Dumouriez to make his election; he chose the troop of horse, rather against the inclination of the minister, who was besieged by eight hundred candidates for three vacancies; but nevertheless ratified the decision of Dumouriez. As soon as he thought that his wounds were sufficiently healed, he joined his regiment; but suffered great pain from his exertions while only partially cured. He fought during the whole campaign; and though the disputes between the marshal de Broglie and prince de Soubise rendered his duty perplexing, he acquitted himself so well as commander of a detachment, that he received another gratification of one hundred crowns, (12 l. 10 s.) besides a beautiful charger, which fell to his share as booty. The two next campaigns produced nothing worthy of observation; and in the ensuing year peace was concluded. The reduction of his regiment occasioned his dismissal; but he was honoured with the *Croix de St. Louis*.

1763.
Chevalier
de Saint
Louis.
In love.

Previous to the peace, Dumouriez had fallen in love with his cousin, who lived with her mother, widow of the marquis de Bellay, at Pontaudemer, near St. Lô, at which place his regiment had been stationed. A rooted antipathy subsisted between his father and aunt, which precluded every hope of obtaining their consent; and the precariousness of his circumstances, together with the want of fortune on the part of the young lady, rendered it necessary to postpone all thoughts of an union till a more favourable period. Dumouriez continued to reside at Pontaudemer, though he dated his letters to his father from St. Lô; but at length the old gentleman discovered

discovered the truth, and wrote a very severe letter to his sister, who immediately sent her daughter to a convent. Dumouriez, in despair, retired to Dieppe, where, after writing to his father a letter of thanks and expostulation, he took fifteen grains of opium. He had scarcely performed this rash act before he was alarmed, and repented: he rose in haste, rushed into the passage where a lamp was burning, and immediately swallowed all the oil. This violent emetic operated instantaneously, and was succeeded by a fainting fit. When Dumouriez recovered he returned to bed; and after a profuse perspiration awoke the next morning in a state of extreme weakness. He dispatched another letter to his father; but the first had been too early received: it produced the most violent effects on his constitution, it increased his resentment, and in a considerable degree alienated his affections from his son.

Swallows
poison.

His regiment being disbanded, Dumouriez returned to Paris, and resided in his father's house. He formed a connexion with the celebrated Favier, from whom he derived his knowledge in politics; and with an amiable young gentleman, named Bullioud, who died of a consumption, and whose memory Dumouriez celebrated by some very indifferent lines, inserted in the *Mercure Français*. Having lost this friend he became tired of Paris, and having collected one hundred *louis-d'ors*, resolved to travel. Before his departure, he waited on the minister, the duke de Choiseul, and apprised him of his intention, requesting a passport and permission to write to the duke, and expressing a hope, that if his letters appeared worthy of attention, he might be appointed to a situation either in the military or diplomatic line. The minister received him graciously, and promised him letters of recommendation. He then wrote to his father announcing his intended departure; the parent, fearful that he was going to

His resi-
dence in
Paris.

Resolves to
travel.

commit some act of imprudence, went to Paris, and applied to the minister for a *lettre de cachet*; but when informed of the arrangement which had been made, returned home contented.

Arrives at
Genoa.

Dumouriez proceeded on his journey alone, on foot, or in such vehicles as chance presented, writing his observations on the various places through which he passed. He stayed some time at Genoa, where he was well received by M. Boyer, agent of the French republic; and became acquainted with the senator Lomellini, who was afterwards doge.

Affairs of
Corsica.

Supported by the interest of these two friends, he solicited the command of a detachment of five hundred troops, which were sent by the republic to oppose Paoli in Corsica, but was unsuccessful. He then went to Florence, and wrote to Paoli, tendering his services and those of four French officers whom he had met with by accident; but Paoli civilly declined the offer. Dumouriez was, however, determined to interfere in the affairs of the island; and having become acquainted with a young lieutenant named Costa de Castellana, whose father headed a party in opposition to Paoli, he suggested the scheme of erecting Corsica into an independent republic, and promised to secure the indirect assistance of the duke de Choiseul. Had this project succeeded, Dumouriez was promised a very honourable recompence, and the command of the armies.

Oct. 1763.
Returns to
France.

Having settled certain important preliminaries in Corsica, he determined to return to France, and embarked for that purpose; but the weather was so unfavourable, that he was thirty-three days in reaching Marseilles. On his arrival he found that a treaty had been concluded between France and Genoa, which would render his application to Choiseul unavailing. He was not, however, deterred from his project; but arranged a clandestine plan with a ship-builder of Marseilles, called Roux de Corse, who agreed

agreed to supply the conspirators with arms, ammunition, and cannoneers, for which he was to be paid in timber fit for ship-building, which abounds in Corsica.

Dumouriez had now nearly exhausted his little bank of one hundred *louis*, and returned to Paris in great distress, having left his clothes and watch in pawn at Marseilles. On his arrival, he went to his old friend Favier, who received him with great kindness. It happened that Favier was at that time engaged with the Du Barrys and the Genoese minister, in a plan which was diametrically opposite to the views of Dumouriez, namely, to prevail on Choiseul to send to Corsica double the number of French troops which had been stipulated in the treaty with Genoa. Favier was employed to draw a memorial, for which he was promised five hundred *louis-d'ors*. Diffident of his own knowledge, he applied to Dumouriez to furnish him with materials, for which he engaged to give him a hundred *louis*. The unprincipled adventurer accepted this offer, but supplied such false information, that his memorial contained nothing but vague and feeble deductions; this he calls being "alike faithful to friendship and his own plan." Before the delivery of this treacherous composition, he had an interview with Choiseul, at which he endeavoured, by all the arguments a fallacious and dishonest logic could supply, to induce him to forfeit his engagements with Genoa, and favor the secret plans of Roux. The minister was staggered by his reasoning, and dazzled by his representations, he gave some grounds to hope that he would adopt the proposed plans. The opposite party observing some symptoms of this disposition in the duke, redoubled their exertions, and at the next interview, Dumouriez found him as much prejudiced against his plan, as he had before seemed favourable to it. He exhausted his arguments in vain, and at length, as a last effort to realize his brilliant projects,

His intrigues and duplicity.

projects, communicated to the duke the whole secret with which he had been intrusted by the indiscreet Favier. This produced the desired effect; the minister desired him to call the next day, and that he should be expedited to Corsica. Dumouriez now thought himself secure of attaining his point, but Choiseul had disclosed through weakness all that Dumouriez, from motives less excusable, had told him; the parties interested had succeeded in effacing the impression made by his communication, and had inflamed the minister so violently against him, that when he went to the levee the next day the duke assailed him with a torrent of reproach, and indignantly dismissed him as an adventurer.

Leaves
Paris.

This scene took place in presence of many witnesses; Dumouriez having replied with great freedom and asperity to the minister's allegations, began to think himself unsafe in Paris, and quitting the city on foot, repaired to Maubeuge. From this place he determined to proceed to Mons, but first wrote to Favier, requesting him to forward his pormanteau, which, except six *louis*, contained all his worldly goods. The generous Favier, far from harbouring any rancour, sent him an answer conceived in terms of sportive reproof, and acknowledged himself his debtor in the sum of one hundred *louis*, which he promised to transmit to Mons, and in the mean time sent him ten *louis* inclosed in a riband.

Nov.
Arrives at
Mons.

He stayed at Mons a month, from which place he wrote a letter of submission to the minister, requesting a passport, leave to serve in Spain, and letters of recommendation to the French ambassador at Madrid. He inclosed a long memorial relative to Corsica, tending to prove, that "the treaty with Genoa would necessarily produce, in a few years, "a war with Paoli." At the same time he wrote to his father, who had been greatly alarmed respecting his quarrel, informing him of the state of the affair, requesting him to discharge a debt of eight hundred
livres

Writes to
his father.

livres (35*l.*), which he had contracted at Leghorn, and to advance him fifty *louis* to enable him to travel into Spain. The parent waited on Choiseul, who retained no anger, but spoke of the journey to Spain as calculated to abate his redundant fire. At the end of a few days he received a packet containing a polite letter from the duke, a certificate of nobility, the king's permission to enter into the Spanish service, letters of recommendation to the marquis de Grimaldi, minister for foreign affairs in Spain, and to the marquis d'Offun, the French ambassador, a very tender letter from his own father, and a bill of exchange for fifty *louis*.

An attention to economy, as well as the severity of the weather, which prevented his crossing the Pyrenees, induced Dumouriez to travel by sea. In the course of his voyage from Ostend to Seville, he rescued a young Spanish lady from the rage of a brutal brother, who harboured such a resentment against him, that at Seville he attempted his life, but his vindictive attempt was defeated, and the Spaniard thrown into prison. On his arrival in Madrid, he was received with great kindness by the marquis d'Offun, who advised him not to be precipitate in seeking military employment, and facilitated his forbearance by allowing him free access to his table, and supplying him with money. He was through him introduced to the whole *corps diplomatique*.

1764.
Goes to
Spain.

While he was passing his time thus agreeably in Madrid, he received several severe letters from his father, and intelligence that his favourite cousin was turned nun, in consequence of having lost her beauty by the small-pox. To dissipate his chagrin, and extend his knowledge, he resolved to visit Portugal, and, to facilitate his favourable reception, determined to make an offer of his services, though in such a way that he was sure they would not be accepted. He performed this journey with great care and minute attention, transmitting his notes

1765.
Visits
Portugal.

and memorandums in cypher to the marquis d'Offun. This expedition engaged him a whole year; he afterwards published the information he had acquired, under the title of "an Essay on Portugal," of which he himself speaks in very high terms, and which he has lately republished.

1766.
Returns
to Spain.

Offered
promotion.

On his return to Spain, he was coolly received by the marquis d'Offun, who considered him as a fickle young man; but Dumouriez reinstated himself in his good graces by "a System of Attack and Defence for Portugal," which he composed in a fortnight. He was offered a lieutenant-colonelcy of a corps of three battalions, but declined it from motives of consideration to a French officer named Chateauveron, in whose prejudice the offer was made. He remained another year in Spain, during which he cultivated an intimacy with the duke de Crillon and his son, and prince Emanuel de Salm-Salm, who afterwards engaged considerable attention in the course of the revolution. He also formed an attachment for a young lady, who was afterwards married to an alcade, or judge of Valladolid. Though the marquis d'Offun restored to him his countenance, they were not on terms of cordiality, and Dumouriez, in consequence, was very much straitened in his finances.

1767.
Falls in
love.

Recalled
to France.
Dec. 1767.

Visits the
minister.

At length he was recalled to France. The affairs of Corsica had brought his memorial to the minister's recollection, and France having iniquitously purchased a domain which Genoa fraudulently sold, Dumouriez was employed to give effect to the contract by force of arms. On his arrival in Paris he waited on the duke de Choiseul before he visited his father; and was most graciously received. The minister apprised him of his intention to appoint him quarter-master general of the Corsican army, of which the marquis de Chauvelin was to be commander in chief, and requested him to wait on that general to explain his memorial. Being required to
prepare

prepare for an immediate departure, he ventured to inform the duke of his pecuniary embarrassments, and of the amount of his debts, which was fifteen thousand livres (656*l.* 5*s.*). The duke presented him with eighteen thousand (787*l.* 10*s.*), and they parted on the most friendly terms.

With this money he went to his father, and refunded all he had advanced, at the same time requesting him to liquidate every other demand, which being done, he was still possessed of a thousand crowns (125*l.*). The next Sunday, Dumouriez and his father went to Versailles to thank the minister, who, at a full levee, and in the most noble manner, apologized for his former harshness. At a subsequent interview, Dumouriez presented to the duke his commission as captain of cavalry, then worth from twelve to twenty-four thousand livres, desiring him to present it to any person he thought proper, reserving only the regulated price, eight thousand livres (350*l.*) in his favor. This handsome sacrifice, and the value of the patronage, were highly acceptable to the minister.

Choiseul's
generous
behaviour.

Dumou-
riez resigns
his cap-
taincy.

On his arrival in Corsica, Dumouriez had an opportunity of rendering a service to the Jesuits, in whose college he had been educated: they were now refugees from Spain, and about to be again transported by the French government.

Assists the
Jesuits.

He dispatched this affair with extraordinary speed, and when he returned to Bastia assisted at a council of war, where he differed in opinion with the commander in chief and all the officers. As his opinion was of a nature which might lead to a suspicion of pusillanimity, he was obliged to exert himself vigorously in the field to efface so unfavorable an impression, and accordingly exposed himself so rashly in storming a redoubt, that Chauvelin, who observed his conduct, frequently exclaimed, "You will see this little good man get himself knocked on the head on account of his opinion." It is not

1st Sept.
Campaign
in Corsica.

not my intention to detail the history of the Corsican war, in which it is sufficient to observe, that Dumouriez behaved very gallantly, though his advice was not followed, and he was frequently opposed and thwarted from motives of pride and envy. He formed a bold enterprise to gain possession of the port of Isola Rossa, in which he failed. He was, on another occasion, put under arrest, through mistake, but liberated, with many apologies. He had previously been offered a brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel, and pecuniary gratification, which he refused, but at this period he accepted the money. He also procured the capitulation of the castle of Corte, and was rewarded with one hundred volumes from Paoli's library. The war was at length terminated by the reduction of the island.

Death of
his father.

When Dumouriez returned to Paris, he found his father was dead, leaving him an estate of seventy thousand livres (3062 *l.* 10 *s.*), which produced about three thousand livres (131 *l.* 5 *s.*) a-year. To this the minister added a pension of three thousand livres (131 *l.* 5 *s.*), besides his appointment. He passed the winter at Paris, in company with a few men of wit, and formed an intimacy with the count de Broglie.

Sent to
Poland.

The duke de Choiseul next employed Dumouriez in Poland. He is not very explicit in regard to the object of his mission, but intimates that it took place in consequence of the minister's desire to be exactly informed of what might be expected from the efforts of the Poles, previous to his decision how far France should interfere in their affairs. His enemies assert, that he was employed merely as a spy^a; he insinuates that he was sent as minister. His appointments, according to his own account, were extremely liberal; he was allowed twelve thousand

^a Dumouriez Unmasked, p. 9. *Lettres sur la Vie du General Dumouriez*, p. 10.

livres (525*l.*) for travelling expences, and three thousand livres (131*l.* 5*s.*) a-month. He prepared himself for this employ by a laborious study of the affairs of Poland, to which he devoted six hours a-day for three months. Before his departure he had an interview with Choiseul, who communicated to him, with great freedom, his political views, but left his conduct with respect to Poland entirely to his discretion. "I will not give you any instructions," said the duke. "I defy you to give me any," answered Dumouriez; "you know no more than myself what is to be done." The minister laughed at this sally, and they parted in the most friendly manner. July 1770.

The period of his mission was that, when the malecontents were preparing to depose king Stanislaus and to take up arms against the agents of Russia, and when the partition treaty was negotiating. He stayed some time at Strasburg, at Munich, where he made a conditional purchase of twenty-two thousand muskets, and at Vienna, where he was detained by the jealousy and formality of M. Durand, the French minister. At length he arrived at Eperies, where he found the malecontent nobles immersed in debauchery, and careless of their dearest interests. He immediately occasioned a suppression of the pensions they received from France; attempted to introduce discipline and order into their army, formed an intimacy with the countess of Mniezeck, whom he compares to Tasso's Armida, and with Miaczinski, who afterwards served in France. He prepared an extensive plan of military operations for the next year, which was frustrated by the disgrace of his patron, the duke de Choiseul. The duke d'Aiguillon, who succeeded Choiseul, was unfriendly to Dumouriez, though he would not accept his offer to retire. This circumstance rendered his operations in Poland very difficult, and prevented the effect of his vigorous measures. Dumouriez, however, pursued his original His conduct there.

24th Dec.
1770.
1771.

ginal plan with such variations as circumstances required, till he was superseded by the baron de Viomesnil *.

Jan. 1772.
Quarrels
with d'Ai-
guillon.

On his return to Paris, he waited on the duke d'Aiguillon, who received him with much harshness, and from whose presence he retired in anger. He next went to the marquis de Monteynard, the minister at war, who was denied to him. Dumouriez, intemperate through rage and impatience, burst open his closet door, and forced himself into his presence. Notwithstanding this intrusion, he succeeded so well in explaining himself, that Monteynard was interested in his behalf; and in the course of four days Dumouriez was put on the staff of the regiment of Lorraine, with a pay of three thousand livres (131*l.* 5*s.*). Being exempt from duty, he divided his time between Paris and Versailles, and wrote several treatises and memorials.

Attempt
to recon-
cile them.

On the return of the marquis d'Offun and the duke de Crillon to Paris, they attempted to reconcile the duke d'Aiguillon to Dumouriez; the minister sent him a draft for three thousand livres (131*l.* 5*s.*) as a gratification for his services in Poland, which Dumouriez returned, observing that it was either *too much or too little*. This cavalier behaviour frustrated the proposed accommodation, and left Dumouriez to the patronage of the war minister only, and exposed to the hatred of the duke d'Aiguillon.

Sent to
Ham-
burgh.

When the revolution in Sweden broke out, Louis XV. who was much attached to Gustavus the Third, and entertained apprehensions that the party in opposition to him would call in the aid of Russia,

* It would occupy too much space, and is foreign to the principal object of this work, to detail all Dumouriez's operations in Poland during these two years. The reader is referred to his *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 184 to 298; and for a general account of the affairs of Poland and transactions of this period, at once succinct, interesting, and satisfactory, to Coxe's *Travels in Poland*, &c. vol. i.

resolved

resolved to assist the king with seven millions of livres (306,250 *l.*), or seven thousand men. Dumouriez wrote a memorial on the occasion, in which he recommended the sending of troops instead of money, and proposed a plan for raising them entirely in foreign countries. Monteynard carried this memorial to the king, who directed that Dumouriez should be employed, without d'Aiguillon's knowledge, to go to Hamburgh, and ascertain the practicability of the scheme. Dumouriez remonstrating with Monteynard on the danger of incurring the displeasure of d'Aiguillon, the king impatiently insisted on seeing him. He was presented the same evening: Louis XV. said, "Set out for Hamburgh, and execute Monteynard's orders;" and without waiting for a reply, withdrew. When Dumouriez June 1773. arrived at Hamburgh, he found that the revolution in Sweden was atchieved without bloodshed; he continued, nevertheless, to correspond with Monteynard, but being surrounded with spies placed over him by d'Aiguillon, some letters written by his friends in France were intercepted; he was arrested, though in a free city, conveyed to the *Hotel de France*, where he remained nine days, and from thence escorted to Paris, and lodged in the Bastille, together with his two servants^p.

Arrested
and sent
to the
Bastille.
13th Sept.

At the name of the Bastille, every Englishman feels an anxiety, proportioned to his well-founded detestation of such places of confinement, to investigate every particular of the prisoner's treatment. Having, in another place, displayed the sufferings of state prisoners subsequent to the revolution, I shall, as a contrast, abridge Dumouriez's own account of his reception and mode of life in the Bastille, leaving to the reader to make his own comparisons and reflections. It is, however, to be recollected, that

^p Bastille dévoilée, 4^e livraison, p. 22. Dumouriez says he entered the Bastille the latter end of October, but it is of little importance.

Dumouriez

Dumouriez was particularly obnoxious to the minister by whose orders he was arrested.

His reception.

Dumouriez was conveyed to the Bastille at nine o'clock at night ; he was received by the major, and underwent a minute search ; his money, knife, and shoe-buckles were taken from him. The reason assigned for the latter privation was, that a prisoner had strangled himself by swallowing the tongue of a buckle ; yet with all this sagacity they left him his knee-buckles. The search and enumeration of his effects took up an hour and a half. Dumouriez then complained of hunger, and required a fowl might be sent for from the next tavern. " A fowl," said the major ; " do you know that this is Friday ? " " You are entrusted with my person only, and not " my conscience," answered the prisoner. " I am " ill ; for the Bastille itself is a malady : do not, " therefore, refuse me a fowl." He was accordingly indulged.

Apartment.

The place of his confinement was an octagonal chamber, about fifteen feet in every direction, and twenty-five in height ; the only window, which was twenty-two feet from the floor, and opened in three different parts, was a narrow embrasure, at least fifteen feet thick, guarded with double rows of massy iron bars. All the moveables consisted of an old bed, with serge curtains, very dirty and uncomfortable, a *chaise percée*, a wooden table, a straw-bottomed chair, and a pitcher. A turnkey, or jailor, who was a robust man, with a clownish aspect, lighted a fire, left a candle, and retired. When Dumouriez inquired if he could not have a better chamber, the jailor assured him that it was one of the best in all the *tower of liberty*, for, by a refinement in barbarity, they had given that name to one of the towers of the Bastille. Struck with this reflection, Dumouriez said, laughing, " It appears to me, that in this " charming habitation, they add a biting kind of " sauce to their hospitality." The observation was repeated

repeated by the turnkey, and inserted in a register, where all the smart sayings extorted by anguish, vexation, ~~or~~ surprise, from the unfortunate, were carefully recorded.

The next day he was awakened by the noise of keys used in opening two very thick doors, fortified with plates of iron. Bread and wine were brought for his breakfast, and he was apprised that at nine o'clock he must wait on the governor. Dumouriez was conducted before him by a serjeant, and four invalids. The governor, the count de Jumilhac, was an old officer, and a man of pleasure, kind, sensible, and well informed. He told Dumouriez, that the king allowed fifteen livres (13*s.* 1*d.*) a-day for him, and three (2*s.* 7*d.*) for each of his servants, so that if he was not well treated he might prefer his complaint to him. He also said, that, in conformity to the regulations of the Bastille, he would be considered as a close prisoner, until his first examination had taken place; that no person was allowed to converse with him, or answer questions; and that, in strictness, he ought not to be allowed pen, ink, or paper, or any book whatever, not even a prayer-book. "But," added the count, "I am too much interested in your behalf to conform strictly to this rule. I am too old to visit you in your apartment. I shall, therefore, require you to descend every morning into this hall: carry these two volumes with you, and conceal them." Dumouriez saw the governor every morning, who not only furnished him with books, but recounted the anecdotes of the gay world. He carried his attention so far as to supply him with a small quantity of lemons, sugar, coffee, and foreign wines; he also sent him a dish from his own table when he dined at home.

The ninth day of his detention, Dumouriez was examined before three commissioners, attended by a secretary. He was permitted to enter a protest against

Kindness
of the go-
vernor.

Dumou-
riez's ex-
amina-
tions.

against any advantage which might be taken of his examination, so as to preclude a legal trial, and against the solicitation or intervention of his friends or superiors. He refused to answer any question which was not previously committed to paper, or to permit his replies to be inserted in any other words than those pronounced by himself. He underwent, in the course of two months, four examinations, in the course of which the commissioners displayed much art in their endeavours to ensnare him in contradictory assertions, and he evinced no less firmness and sagacity in concealing facts which he wished to remain unknown, and eluding unfavourable constructions. He was enabled to be thus consistent in his answers by a singular artifice: at the end of every examination, he engraved on the walls of his apartment, with the tongue of his knee-buckle, the questions asked by the commissioners, and his own answers. To prevent discovery, he used arbitrary signs and abbreviations, and put every word in a different language. In these circumstances, a person endowed with less courage and presence of mind than Dumouriez must have betrayed himself and his friends to inevitable destruction, from the want of recollection, and of spirit to oppose the misrepresentation of answers set down in equivocal terms, and perverted in their meanings.

On his second examination, Dumouriez, in answering a ridiculous question put to him by the commissioners, "Whether he hated the duke d'Aiguillon?" dictated eight separate charges against him for ministerial misconduct. At the end of his last examination, Marville, one of the commissioners, said to him, with a barbarous jocularitv, "You are a man of courage, therefore I will not conceal from you that M. Monteynard has been disgraced; that the duke d'Aiguillon is more powerful than ever, and that he unites the war department with that for foreign affairs: you are, therefore,

"therefore, entirely in his power, and may expect
 "to remain in prison for at least ten years."
 "M. de Marville," answered Dumouriez, "you
 "have surely read la Fontaine, and must remember
 "the fable of the emperor, the ass, and the mounte-
 "bank. Before the expiration of ten years half of
 "you will not be alive, much less in office. *Nota*
 "*bene*, you, yourself, are more than seventy years
 "of age." This reply vanquished the brutal com-
 missioner, and he embraced the man he had before
 insulted. To contrast this trait, an action of M. de
 Sartines, *lieutenant de police*, and also one of the
 commissioners, ought to be mentioned. After his
 first examination, Dumouriez required some books
 from his own library: he offered to give a list of
 those he wanted, saying he had six thousand volumes
 at Versailles. "You do not recollect," said M. de
 Sartines, coolly, "that at your departure you re-
 "quested your aunt to sell all your books and move-
 "ables: you have no longer any left." Dumouriez,
 who had made the request on a presumption that his
 apartments had been sealed up, held down his head;
 and the next day de Sartines informed him he had
 invented this benevolent fiction to prevent the se-
 questration of his property by his brother com-
 missioners.

Pending these examinations, Dumouriez had quar-
 relled with his gaoler, who was stout, athletic, in-
 solent, and choleric. This man treated him with great
 indignity, addressed him contemptuously, (*thou'd*
 him,) and threatened to strike him. The prisoner
 sprang towards the chimney, and seizing a firebrand,
 knocked him down. The quarrel was referred to
 the major, who seemed inclined to favour the turn-
 key; but Dumouriez appealed to his friend the
 governor, who took cognizance of the dispute; and
 was with difficulty prevented, by the intreaties of
 the prisoner himself, from turning the man out of
 his office.

Beats the
turnkey.

His contrivance to get a better room.

After the fourth examination, Dumouriez, considering that he was likely to remain a great while in confinement, exerted himself to obtain a better apartment, and the society of his two servants. He had been informed by M. de Sartines that he could not be gratified without the consent of the duke de la Vrilliere, the minister for Paris, who was d'Aiguillon's uncle. Knowing that he had nothing to expect from that quarter, Dumouriez asked what would be done if any accident happened to render his apartment uninhabitable? "In that case," said Sartines, "you would instantly be removed to another; and as it is attended with no danger, I will engage to give you the best in the Bastille." Availing himself of this hint, Dumouriez resolved to render his chamber untenable. Perceiving that one side of his hearth was sunk below the level of the other, he expected to derive advantage from this circumstance. The hearth consisted of two large stones joined together at the centre, and supported by a beam, which the great heat had reduced to charcoal. Concluding there was a cavity below, he one morning, between the hours of two and six, forced up the floor of his apartment; and by means of a billet of wood, which he used as a battering ram, made a hole through the ceiling below. In the room to which he thus opened a communication, he beheld a person about fifty years of age, stark naked, with a long grey beard, and his hair standing on end, who howling dreadfully, dashed the gravel at him with great violence through the hole whence it had dropped. He wished to speak to this unhappy wretch, but found that he was mad. He learned afterwards that his name was Eustachius Farey, a gentleman of Picardy, and captain in the regiment of Piedmont, who had been confined twenty-two years in the Bastille for having either composed or distributed a song against madame Pompadour. Having at length forced the two large stones

Adventure attending it.

stones and gravel through the hole, Dumouriez called the sentinel, and prevailed on him to awaken the turnkey. On being taken before the governor, ^{His removal,} he stated that the stones had fallen through owing to the calcination of the beam by extreme heat. The account was credited, and the room called the chapel was immediately allotted to him. When the guards had retired, he told Jumilliac the truth; and both he and de Sartines, to whom it was afterwards communicated, laughed at the adventure.

His new apartment was twenty-six feet long and eighteen broad, with a good fire-place, a neat bed, and an antichamber; but the room was dark, as it had but one window. In a few days he obtained an order for the removal of his servants, who were very ^{and that of his servants.} happy to join him.

Dumouriez now fared extremely well; his dinner, which always consisted of five dishes, and his supper, composed of three, besides the dessert, were ^{His mode of living.} served up together, and made a magnificent appearance. His valet prepared excellent ragouts; and their situation banishing all restraint, the three prisoners took their meals together. But the charms of such society soon wore off, and Dumouriez began to repent having obtained it. He had philosophy enough to stifle his own regrets at the loss of liberty; but his companions, less occupied, and less able to sustain the privation of enjoyments, frequently brought him to a lively sense of his situation by lamenting theirs. He was obliged to leave his studies to amuse them: he taught them games at cards and chess, and read romances and travels to them one hour in the morning and two at night. He was, however, attacked with a sciatica, and confined a week to his bed, and then became fully sensible of the value of their company and assistance.

He was furnished with whatever books he required ^{Literary employments.} from his own library; and, during his confinement, wrote a tract on war, intitled "Military Principles;"

and also a "Treatise on Legions." He also projected a large work, the hint of which was furnished by Bayle: this was a compression of all the books of travels extant, arranged topographically, and divided into centuries, with comparisons between the country visited, and the native place of the traveller at the period of writing. This he termed "A Philosophical Essay on Travels:" he acknowledges that a man must be in the Bastille to undertake a work of the kind; and perhaps a similar confinement would be necessary to induce any one to read it. He made no beginning of this work, though he wrote a preliminary discourse; but he drew up "a political and commercial Memoir relative to Hamburgh and Lower Saxony;" and completed a translation into French verse of the twenty-fifth canto of *Morgante Maggiore*.

Corre-
sponds
with
Favier.

State of
the Bas-
tille.

Such were Dumouriez's employments in the Bastille. He found means to discover the apartment in which his friend Favier was confined, and to correspond with him by secreting letters in fissures of the wood sent to make his fire. His servants suggested to him a mode of ascertaining the number of prisoners in the castle, which I copy with his own observation. "It being winter season, as many heaps
" of wood were brought every Saturday to the foot
" of each tower, as there were apartments inhabited
" there. By attending to this circumstance, he
" learned to calculate the number of his companions
" in misfortune. Every day at noon the turnkey
" also placed at the foot of each staircase, as many
" baskets containing plates as there were prisoners.
" These were, at that time, far from being nu-
" merous; for there were never more than nineteen
" during his confinement, and several days there
" were but seven. Accordingly this terrible Bastille,
" at least at that epoch, did not swallow up so many
" miserable wretches as was imagined. Since the
" Jacobins have come into power, notwithstanding
" the

" the continual executions that have taken place, the
 " dungeons of Paris always contain three, four, or
 " five thousand unhappy people, whose lives depend
 " on the turn of a straw."

Notwithstanding Marville's insinuation, Dumouriez did not omit, at the end of every fortnight, to send, by the hands of Sartines, a letter to the king, requesting the nomination of judges, and a trial. This perseverance at length produced the desired effect; the king ordered d'Aiguillon to make his report to council respecting Dumouriez and his supposed confederates; intimating, at the same time, that they were not guilty, and had been too long confined. D'Aiguillon, influenced by this hint, made a favourable report; he spoke of Dumouriez as a good officer, but exceedingly petulant, and incapable of subordination. The prince de Soubise undertook his defence; and the king testified his merits, ordered the continuation of his rank and appointments; and, as the minister had suggested the propriety of his banishment from Paris, directed that he should be sent to the castle of Caen, and have the whole province of Normandy for a prison. Thus, at the end of a confinement of six months, Dumouriez was liberated from the Bastille. Before his departure he executed a very benevolent finesse. Remembering the anxiety he had suffered from the want of means to preserve his thoughts and recollections by writing, he took care to supply that deficiency to his successors. In the four corners of his apartment were four columns that supported the ceiling, which was no more than nine feet from the ground. Each column was surmounted with the figure of a sphinx. He climbed up by the assistance of chairs and tables, and placed in a hollow on the back of each of these sphinxes, an oyster-shell full of ink, some sheets of paper, and several pens. He wrote on the base of each column "Search above for the explanation of the *enigma*;" and on the

The minister's report.

7th Mar.
1774.
Exiled to
Caen.

His benevolent
finesse.

back of one of the sphinxes, left a short direction relative to the manner of keeping up a correspondence by means of billets of wood.

Arrives
in Nor-
mandy.

The third day after his discharge from the Bastille, Dumouriez arrived at the castle of Caen, where he was received and treated with the utmost attention. It was not the least singular part of his destiny that the *lettre de cachet* which banished him to Caen, placed him near his cousin, for whom he had formerly felt so tender an affection. At the period of his departure for Poland, he had offered to marry her; but she was then intent on taking the veil, and refused him. The rigorous life of a nun being prejudicial to her health, she renounced it; but still resided in a convent, where she practised the most austere devotion. Dumouriez did not visit her till four days after his arrival; and at their first interview they trembled like two criminals: they agreed to live on a footing of friendship, and see one another but seldom. Soon after this resolution the lady fell ill of a fever, and the rules of the convent not being strict, Dumouriez attended her, and became her nurse during twenty-eight days. On her recovery, he obtained a dispensation from the pope, and a permission from the minister at war, and espoused her. The marriage was unhappy: it embroiled them with many of their friends, and terminated in a separation which took place at the lady's own request, in 1788. She received all her jewels, half their common property in plate and effects, and an annuity of five hundred livres, (21 l. 17 s. 6 d.) with which she retired to a convent in Paris. Dumouriez imputes their infelicity to her ill-temper; while his enemies attribute to him much harshness, cruelty, and insensibility.

Visits his
cousin.

23th Sept.
1774.
Their
marriage,

and sepa-
ration,

Proceed-
ings
against
him set
aside.

Before his marriage he obtained a complete reversal of all the proceedings against him. Louis XV. was dead; and on the accession of his grandson, Dumouriez wrote to the new ministry, requesting that

that he might be recommitted to the Bastille; that his process might be resumed, and legal judges appointed for his trial. This the ministers graciously declined; and, after a short time, all the papers relating to the pretended conspiracy in which he had been implicated, were withdrawn from the registers of the Bastille. Dumouriez was ordered to attend the court at Compeigne, where M. de Mury, the new war minister, at a full audience, informed him that the king, concerned for his long and unjust imprisonment, had charged the minister to indemnify him, by employing his talents in a way that might be useful. At a private meeting he presented him with a similar declaration in writing. Another paper was also transmitted to him, containing an extract of the report signed by three ministers, acquitting him of every imputation.

Soon afterwards the Prussian manœuvres were introduced into France, and Dumouriez received a strong indication of the sincerity and benevolence of his sovereign. Thirty officers were selected to instruct the army in these manœuvres; and although a thousand general officers and twelve hundred colonels were out of employment, he was amongst the thirty nominated on the occasion. During the two succeeding years, he was engaged in schemes which his knowledge, as an engineer, rendered him capable of undertaking in time of peace; and in one less appropriate to his former avocations, that of soliciting a law-suit for M. de Montbarey against the prince de Marfan. He also translated from the Italian a work called "*Vita di Benevenuto Cellini scultore fiorentino*;" and from the German, the Lives of Charles XII. Renschild, Steinbock, Duker, Meyerfeldt, and others.

It is worthy of observation that Dumouriez assisted in composing the funeral eulogy of Louis XV. who had imprisoned and exiled him; how he rewarded Louis XVI. who acted so generously towards him, and loaded him with favors, will be seen in the sequel.

1773-6-7.
Benevo-
lence of
Louis
XVI.

Dumou-
riez's em-
ploy-
ments.

They were never printed; and the MSS. are probably destroyed.

Jan. 1778.
Made
command-
ant of
Cher-
bourg.

He was employed in drawing up a memorial relative to the formation of a port in the channel, in which he demonstrated the superiority of Cherbourg to every other situation. Before the war, this memorial was inspected by the king, who, struck with the goodness of the plan, wrote in the margin with his own hand, "Dumouriez commandant of Cherbourg." Thus was this appointment (the third instance of kindness from a sovereign to whom he had rendered no particular services) created on purpose for him. It was accompanied with a house, and a salary of six thousand livres (262 l. 10 s.), which, in addition to his other appointments, his pension, and his income, produced twenty-three thousand livres (1006 l. 5 s.) a-year, and a fixed establishment. At this place Dumouriez passed the ensuing years of his life till the revolution. In this interval nothing occurred to merit a particular detail; he employed himself assiduously in the affairs of his post. When the king made his celebrated journey to Cherbourg, he presented to Dumouriez a snuff-box with his portrait enamelled on the lid. During the residence of Dumouriez at Cherbourg, the inhabitants increased from seven thousand three hundred to nineteen thousand.

Observa-
tions on
his con-
duct and
narrative.

Hitherto I have pursued the account given by Dumouriez himself, without minutely investigating his statements, or interposing conjectures respecting the truth of his narratives, where I had no certain facts to substantiate a contrary opinion. The vanity and self-preference of Dumouriez expose his narrative to the attacks of incredulity; and were the various parts of it critically compared, several contradictory assertions might be discovered. To avoid prolixity, I have not entered into such discussions, but have adopted those accounts which appeared most probable.

bable. The author of "*Lettres sur la Vie de Dumouriez*," in descanting on this part of his memoirs, ingeniously observes, that in all the scenes from which he affects to derive celebrity, he has named as his associates persons who have long been dead, by which means he is secure against a direct contradiction; but adds, and illustrates the assertion by many instances, that he falsifies characters, and errs in his description of events, men, and manners.

But if these points are not worth examining unless for the sake of ascertaining his veracity, his conduct since the revolution is to be considered in a different light; as from the conspicuous part he acted, and the pains he has taken to vindicate his conduct, it becomes interesting and necessary to the historian of the times to developé his real views. Dumouriez labours to persuade his readers that he was ever loyal to his sovereign, and desirous of his welfare; that the measures which he pursued, however they might be misconstrued, tended to that sole end. Others assert that he was a designing intriguer, a Jacobin in the most violent sense of the term; a republican in external appearance, though, in reality, the devoted tool of Orleans. I subscribe to the latter opinion; and as the subsequent part of the narrative will receive much of its colour from that judgment, it may be proper to examine its foundation. That Dumouriez was an intriguer, and professed sentiments that did not really influence him, sufficiently appears from his whole life; the most partial reader must confess that he cannot, with all his address, disguise this fact; though he softens the harshness of the avowal by repeated professions that he only accommodated himself to circumstances in the hope of rendering

* See the Histories and Journals. Dumouriez Unmasked, passim. Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. i. p. 223. vol. iii. p. 147. 167.

† Louvet's Narrative, p. 24. Brissot à ses Commettans, p. 86.

* Dumouriez Unmasked, passim. Pagès, vol. i. p. 453. vol. ii. p. 11. Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. i. p. 223, 224.

effectual

effectual services to his king and country. This excuse would apply most particularly to his professions of jacobinism and republicanism; but such a defence destroys his claim to integrity and truth; and those professions were made at a period when the cause to which he pretends to have been constantly attached was not so desperate as to require such sinister services. These facts will be illustrated by his history. But the point on which I lay the greatest stress is his being an Orleanist, an imputation which he strenuously denies, and which his opponents no less steadfastly assert. I shall not here examine their assertions; but relate such of the facts as appear important in their due order, confining myself for the present to a review of his defence. In relating his adventures, Dumouriez frequently enumerates the persons with whom he formed an acquaintance or cultivated an intimacy. He was at Paris in the winter of 1788, when the events of the revolution were in a state of considerable forwardness. He was almost an inmate at the palace of the duke^a; and his most intimate friends were those men who were the agents and supporters of that infamous prince. He frequented a political society where the Crillons and others, whose attachment to Orleans is well known, were leading members. He wrote pamphlets and instructions to the Bailliages, and formed the closest friendship with Latouche, who, to use the expression of Dumouriez, was *unfortunate enough to be chancellor to the duke of Orleans*. On his return to Cherbourg he was so explicit in his sentiments that his attachment was notorious; and the duchess de Beuvron spoke to him of his *friends*, naming at the same time the *forty-seven* nobles who first deserted their order, and several other persons in the duke's interest. When Dumouriez quitted the army, he wrote to the convention that *he was totally ignorant of the*

^a Dumouriez Unmasked, p. 19.

existence of an Orleans's faction, and that he never had any connexion with that prince". It will not be easy to believe that he had no connexion with Orleans, when it is recollected that a close connexion subsisted between him and Latouche, the chancellor, Valence the brother, and the dukes of Chartres and Montpensier, sons of the man he affected to disclaim. But his pretended ignorance of the conspiracy is confuted by his own declarations. Writing of the year 1789, he says: "Mirabeau, who had acquired the confidence of the duke of Orleans, and by his means of the populace of Paris, was about to become the head of a formidable party".

When the Orleans faction was preparing its grand exertions; when the corruption of the army was undertaken, and conducted with the utmost eagerness and address; Dumouriez became an adherent of that worthless prince. Madame Sillery made a journey to Cherbourg, accompanied by her pupils, the duke's children. Dumouriez affected in public the greatest disregard of the visitors, but in private he was assiduous in his attentions and civilities. In the winter he went to Paris, to concert schemes favorable to the conspiracy. He was anxious for the assembling of the states general, and might have been a deputy himself, had he desired it. He wrote a pamphlet on the contested subject of voting by orders or by poll. Of this he gives no extract; but his principles, however, are sufficiently denoted by his declaration, that during the whole year 1789, the conduct of the third estate was prudent, noble, and moderate! This from a pretended royalist!

On his return to Normandy, he was so open in his expressions, as to excite considerable jealousy and suspicion. He foresaw the approaching ascendancy

August
1788.
Conduct at
the revolution.

Return
to Cher-
bourg.

* See his Letter, dated Frankfort, 20th April 1793.

† General Valence was a natural son of the duke's father.

* Life of Dumouriez, vol. ii. p. 15.

* Dumouriez Unmasked, p. 18.

of the populace, and therefore used every means to ingratiate himself with them, and become their idol. He augmented, if he did not excite, the prevailing dislike against the d'Harcourts, by whom he had been much favored and protected, and encouraged the military in their resolution to disobey orders. During the period of agitation and suspense which immediately preceded the 14th of July, he acted with mysterious duplicity. He discouraged the true adherents of the king from uttering any expression which indicated a hope of success, and yet communicated a well-framed plan for the blockade of Paris, and the security of the monarch. After the taking of the Bastille, he became more decided in his conduct, promoted the views of the insurgents at Caen and throughout the province of Normandy, and recommended the civil and military commanders not to oppose the formation of a national militia. Cherbourg was the scene of frequent commotions, which dated their commencement from the period of his return, and which he generally succeeded in dispelling with such facility as increased the suspicion that he had fomented them. He accepted the situation of commandant-general of the national guard; but the jealousy of the nobles increasing, and the assembly having suspended the payment of all appointments, he resigned his command, and returned to Paris.

Nov. 1789.
Goes to
Paris.

His em-
ployments.

Soon after his arrival, he was introduced to the Jacobins by Crillon, and formed an acquaintance with Barrere. He drew up some political essays on the emancipation of negroes, in opposition to Mirabeau, and on the property of the clergy, which he appears to have discussed in a presumptuous and superficial manner. His friend Laporte being made steward of the king's household, Dumouriez transmitted through him a note to the king, advising him to repair to the assembly without previous notice, and take a voluntary oath to maintain the constitution.

1790.
Advice to
the king;

tion. Dumouriez pretends that this letter induced the king to take that step in February 1790. The advice was either treacherous or absurd. To advise the king, for the purpose of acquiring popularity, to take the oath, was delivering him up bound into the hands of the national assembly. The constitution was not yet formed. If it should prove a good constitution, the king might swear to maintain when his judgment approved it; but if weak, contradictory, and impracticable, the unfortunate monarch would be reduced to a dreadful situation, by swearing to support such a constitution even before it was promulgated. It is singular that Dumouriez should avow himself the author of this measure, because it was the foundation of those ridiculous charges of perjury, with which the king was afterwards assailed.

To advise was the rage of Dumouriez; it seems to have influenced his whole life. He next advised the queen. to the queen. to permit the Dauphin to enrol himself amongst a battalion of boys belonging to the *Rue de Montmartre*, in which Dumouriez lodged; and assigned as a reason, that it would gain popularity amongst the *good wives* of the neighbourhood. The queen refused the proffer with honest indignation. She recollected with gratitude the services and deaths of the faithful *gardes du corps*, and expressed an invincible repugnance to see her son dressed in the uniform of their assassins. Dumouriez blames her for not temporising, and justifies his advice by a recurrence to subsequent events. Such advisers and such reasoners deserve nothing but disdain.

During the residence of Dumouriez at Paris, the club of *Feuillans* was formed in opposition to the Jacobins, but though invited by his friend Crillon, he would not join this society. He was at this time much distressed in his finances, and obliged to sell his plate for an immediate supply. He found a farther resource in the fortune of a female friend with whom His circumstances.

whom he lived; he nevertheless contracted many debts. His resignation of the command of the national guard, and his pecuniary embarrassments, may appear to refute the opinion, that he was devoted to the duke of Orleans; but at this period Orleans was in England, and Dumouriez, destitute of fortune, and eager for promotion, was ready to sell his services to the first purchaser.

Goes to
Belgium.

He was consulted by the colonial committee, and offered the command of six thousand men intended to restore tranquillity in the colonies, but declined the service. Dumouriez had now rendered himself serviceable to la Fayette, and acquired his confidence. By him he was employed to examine into the state of the Belgic insurrection, and to endeavour to render it favorable to the interests of the French, by occupying the attention and efforts of the emperor, and preventing his interference in their affairs. He went into Belgium accompanied by two members of the Belgic congress, and in character of a person *secretly acknowledged* by the ruling power in France. He found, however, the situation of affairs such as to frustrate the hope of fulfilling the object of his mission. He wrote two memorials, in which he is said to have recommended an insidious and treacherous accommodation^b, and returned to his own country after an absence only of seventeen days.

Returns to
Paris.

He remained some time longer in Paris, without employment, endeavouring to recommend himself to those who might be instrumental in his advancement, particularly la Fayette and Laporte, and was so cautious not to offend the ruling powers, that he discontinued his visits to the Jacobin club, and his name was erased from the books of the society. He drew up a plan for the organization of a national guard, which was referred to a committee of the assembly, but not adopted; and it was proposed to

^b Dumouriez Unmasked, p. 28.

entrust

entrust him with an important commission to Lyons, Turin, and Switzerland; but, partly through the jealousy of Montmorin, and partly through the imprudence of the committee of public safety, who divulged the intended appointment, so that it was inserted in Brissot's journal, the king refused to ratify it.

Orleans was now returned, but Dumouriez did not immediately rejoin his standard. He had been courted by several parties, particularly by Mirabeau. He was inclined to promote his plan of a counter-revolution, and had written to the king in such terms as to obviate all objections to an appointment which might be proposed for him. His part was already fixed, when the unexpected death of Mirabeau put an end to the project. When Dumouriez after this event waited on Montmorin, and mentioned the intended arrangement, the minister, alarmed at the death of Mirabeau, and perhaps apprehensive of treachery, disclaimed all knowledge of the subject. Dumouriez left him in anger, and was again without employ, and destitute of hope.

1791.
His engagements
with Mira-
beau.

Soon afterwards a promotion took place, and Dumouriez was advanced to the rank of major-general of the twelfth division^c. It is probable that from the death of Mirabeau he had been endeavouring to ingratiate himself with Orleans, but would not declare himself too openly for fear of frustrating his intended promotion. As soon, however, as he had attained this desired object, he hastened to the Jacobin club, and was graciously received. He now threw off the mask of loyalty, and publicly opposed the king. Montmorin had published, in the king's name, a declaration against the tyranny of the Jacobins; Dumouriez produced and read in their hall a counter-declaration, under

Returns to
the Jacobins.

^c The French army was composed of twenty-two divisions; Dumouriez was only general of a division, not general in the army.

the name of "A Diplomatic Memorial," which was enthusiastically applauded. The rage of advising had not left him; and on a proposal being made at the Jacobins to cashier all the officers in the army, and permit the soldiers to elect new ones, he drew up "A Military Memorial," and read it to the club; but they treated it with little respect, and the majority disavowed the sentiments it contained.

19th June.
Arrives at
Nantz.

After some delays, Dumouriez repaired to Nantz, and owing to the advanced age of one major-general, and the absence of the other, the sole command of the twelfth division, which extended over five departments, devolved on him. Immediately on his arrival, he went to the Jacobin club, which he characterises by the terms numerous and infernal. His attention met with the most flattering return, for he was presented with a civic crown, *even*, as he modestly expresses himself, *before he had deserved it*. A decree of the assembly permitted the soldiers to visit these societies; Dumouriez prevailed on the officers to go there also. He highly praises himself for this measure, which seems only calculated to frustrate every attempt to oppose the ascendancy of the party to which he was attached.

Behaviour
on the
king's
flight.

The epoch of his arrival was remarkable; it preceded, by two days only, the unfortunate flight of Louis XVI. When the couriers arrived at Nantz with the news, all the public bodies assembled at the Mint; Dumouriez was summoned, and repaired thither. He reached the place with some difficulty, owing to the crowd. "General," said the president, "the king of France is gone; he has fled." "If he be gone," answered Dumouriez, "the nation still remains. Let us deliberate on what is proper to be done." Some persons proposed to put all the officers under arrest. This was prevented by the general, who guaranteed their fidelity with this extraordinary observation: "I will take charge of them myself; and in the space of two hours

" you

"you shall either be assured of their fidelity to their country, or I shall disencumber you of them without violence. Leave this to me." Thus by one bold exertion he acquired despotic power over all the officers, and left them abjectly at his mercy, and without resource.

Dumouriez presented to his officers this alternative; either to take an oath which he would prescribe, or to leave the place with passports which he would provide for them. The officers could have no confidence in such passports, and therefore in three hours assembled and took the required oath. He does not specify what this oath was, but there was no mention whatever of the king^d.

Proposes
an oath.

He next dispatched letters to Barrere, and another member of the assembly, informing them, "that without waiting for further orders, he was about to assemble as many troops as possible, with a design to march to the succour of the constituent assembly; for it was there only he could now look for that country which Louis had abandoned, after having within the last fortnight again renewed his oaths, and that, too, without being asked to do so." This was the most encouraging letter which the assembly had received from any general officer, and excited proportionate raptures and applause.

His letters
to the as-
sembly.

Dumouriez, in the mean time, wrote to the commandants of the different detachments under his orders, recommending to them the oaths he had taken and enforced, and added, "That *on one side* was to be found true honor, patriotism, and virtue, while, *on the other*, nothing was to be hoped for but opprobrium, cowardice, and perjury." He went, the same day, to the Jacobin club, where he threw down his cross of St. Louis, exclaiming, that

Violence
against the
king.

^d Dumouriez Unmasked, p. 33. The general himself barely says it was oath of obedience to the nation and the law.

he would not wear the favors of a tyrant and despot. A person of the name of Benoiton, president of the department of Nantz, picked it up, and restored it to him *in the name of his country*, after having disgraced the military ornament with the three-colored riband, or, in other words, with the livery of the duke of Orleans*.

Intended
march to
Paris.

But these steps were only preparatory to the grand part which Dumouriez had projected. He resolved to go to Paris, and, for that purpose, had collected eight thousand troops, who were prepared to march the next day; but this design was prevented by the capture of the king. He did not stay at Nantz long after this.

July.
Leaves
Nantz.

From Nantz he went to Rochelle, and from thence to Fontenay-le-Comte, the capital of la Vendée, where the violence of the democrats had already sown the seeds of that dreadful civil war which afterwards broke out. He employed himself, according to his own account, in conciliatory measures, and drew a memorial, with a sketch of a decree on the subject. During his stay at Rochelle, he took some unwarrantable liberties with the military chest, and embroiled himself with the minister of justice. Involved in debt, and out of favor both with the Jacobins and aristocrats, he found it necessary soon to retreat to Niort, the capital *des deux Seores*, another department under his command. It is necessary, however, to mention, that during his continuance in la Vendée he formed an intimacy with Genfonné, which had a great influence on his succeeding adventures.

His me-
morial to
the king.

In the winter he fixed his abode at Niort, where he was registered a citizen, and was, during a month, president of the Jacobin club. He was again

* Dumouriez Unmasked, p. 35, 36. As Dumouriez has wholly omitted to mention this transaction of the military cross, and still continues to wear it, I have related the fact in the very words of my author M. de Viète.

seized

feized with the rage of advising, and he took an extraordinary measure for a Jacobin president, the motives for which I shall relate in his own words. "He was persuaded that the terrible fault committed by Louis, *after having twice perjured himself*, would serve as a lesson to him; that his heart would be melted with the *generosity of the French*, who had restored to him a crown, which he had forfeited by the letter and spirit of that very constitution which he himself had sworn to obey; he that would look upon this event as a species of happiness, which would, at length, unite the minds of all men, and cause, first confidence and good faith, and afterwards love and order, to succeed to the intrigues, the conspiracies, the hatred, and the discord which had reigned until then^f." He accordingly transmitted to the king, through his friend Laporte, a long memorial relative to his future conduct. This memorial was divided into eight parts, and affected to guide the king in politics, benevolence, religion, and private life. But the impertinence of advice did not end there; the indefatigable monitor announced eight other memorials, and demanded, if the king should be pleased with his labors, leave of absence, that he might return and finish the whole at Paris. "He considered this as a touchstone of the king's real intentions; if he were recalled, he should then be sure that his memorial had made a profound impression, and that Louis was, in reality, determined to support himself by means of the constitution: on the contrary, if a continuation of his counsels was not demanded, he should then be inclined to doubt all his former hopes, and predict nothing henceforth but misfortunes." The king received this memorial, as he

^f This paragraph is from the pen of the *soi-disant* royalist Dumouriez. I do not think that more falsities, misrepresentations, and malignant perversions are to be found in so small a compass, in any of the manifestoes of the regicides.

did those of Rouyer, and many others equally impertinent; he made marginal notes, and put it in his iron closet.

Jan. 1791.
Made
lieutenant-
general.

Sent for to
Paris.

A war was now generally expected, and Dumouriez became a lieutenant-general, by seniority, from the prevalence of emigration. This promotion detached him from the division, and he was at liberty to have returned to Paris, but remained at Niort for fear of his creditors. While he was in this situation, M. de Lessart, minister for foreign affairs, being informed of his intimacy with Genfonné, who was a member of the diplomatic committee, and one of the minister's most inveterate persecutors, imagined that the general might be of service to him. Dumouriez had solicited an employment in the diplomatic line, when de Lessart requested his presence, and sent six thousand livres (262 *l.* 10 *s.*) to pay his debts in Poitou. On his arrival in Paris, Dumouriez readily undertook to secure the assistance of Genfonné and all his co-adjutors, and actually prevailed on him to pledge himself to this effect to the minister. He had the address to induce de Lessart to pay his remaining debts, which amounted to a considerable sum; he then coincided with the views of those who suggested that it would be easier to supplant than support the minister, and left him to his fate ^h.

When

g Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 117 to 120. M. de Lessart came into administration after the retreat of Necker. At first he was comptroller general of finances, afterwards minister for foreign affairs, during the sitting of the legislative assembly. The minister at the court of Vienna, M. de Noailles, transmitted his dispatches to de Lessart, who regularly communicated them to Brissot, who was at the head of the diplomatic committee. Brissot having obtained, amongst other papers, a copy of a letter from prince Kaunitz, in which the Jacobins were treated with disrespect, and the king described as a prisoner, he procured a decree of accusation against de Lessart. The reasons assigned for this measure were, that he had omitted to give notice to the assembly of the combination formed by foreign powers against the liberty of France; that he had not pressed the measures which were proper for the safety and defence of the nation; that he had

When Brissot procured the decree of accusation against de Lessart, Dumouriez had solicited, and, as he pretends, obtained from M. de Narbonne a promise of the command of the southern army; but I consider this a mere pretence, as there is no room to doubt the truth of M. Bertrand's statement, that the appointment of minister of foreign affairs was expressly designated for him, in order to aid the views of the Jacobins, who were determined for war. On the arrest of de Lessart, the king, knowing the futility of the charges against him, and supposing that his confinement would be temporary, sent an offer to Dumouriez of his post *ad interim*. This he refused, adding, that he preferred the command which had been promised. The offer was repeated through the medium of Cahier de Gerville, and again declined: at length the appointment was tendered *sine interim*, and Dumouriez declares that he complied out of pure obedience.

March.
Minister
for foreign
affairs.

When he came into administration, the cabinet consisted only of three persons; one of whom, Cahier de Gerville, had declared his determination to resign. The first object, therefore, was to name a new ministry. Dumouriez, in a private audience, prepared the king to expect a Jacobin cabinet, and one of that description was soon appointed. Dumouriez recommended Lacoste for the marine department; Duranton minister of justice, Claviere minister of contributions, and Roland minister of the home department, were recommended by their respective friends in the Jacobin faction.

Forma-
tion of a
ministry.

The day after his appointment, Dumouriez paid homage to the Jacobins, by repairing to their hall and putting on the *red cap*, that signal of anti-roy-

Goes to
the Jaco-
bins.

had given to prince Kaunitz information on the situation of the kingdom, calculated to impress untrue ideas; that he had *meanly sued for peace*; and had refused to obey the decrees of the assembly. He was conveyed under a strong guard to Orleans, and massacred by a hired mob at Versailles, together with the rest of the prisoners.

alism and rebellion. He affects to attribute this to mistake, but if there was any mistake, it consisted in displaying his principles too openly, and rendering dissimulation more difficult.

His conduct to the king.

On his entrance into administration, he seems to have set himself absolutely above the king, to have undervalued his judgment, thwarted his views, and exerted himself in narrowing his influence. I shall select from his own Memoirs a few instances in which he displayed this disposition. Petion, the personal opponent of the king, applied for an allowance of thirty thousand livres (1312 *l.* 10 *s.*) per month, under pretence of expending it on the police. The king represented that Petion was his enemy, and would spend the money in circulating libels against him. Dumouriez treated this well-founded objection as a prejudice; he insisted that the money should be granted, and that if an ill use was made of it in one month, it should be then withheld. The king was obliged to comply with this insidious proposal, and the use made of the money by Petion verified the king's prediction. Dumouriez made no more payments, but the evil was already done: Petion's libels were become palatable, and Roland found it his interest to have new ones daily printed under his own roof. But while the powers of the Jacobin faction were thus increasing; while the sums at the disposal of the ministers for secret services were applied for the purpose of acquiring new adherents to their cause, Dumouriez applied all his efforts to reduce the king's power of retaining affection or rewarding fidelity. With those who affect to regulate the actions of a government by abstract principles; who judge of right and wrong between the rulers and the ruled, by an inflexible system, without making allowance for the wants, the pride, and the weaknesses of men, the following acts of Dumouriez, which I hesitate not to censure, will be considered as meritorious and patriotic. He
made

made a general reform of the pensions in his department, and divided them into three classes, the third of which he describes thus : " The pensions granted by mere favor, or without any claim on the score of diplomatic services, or engagements with France ; for example, M. Dogny, formerly *intendant-general* of the post-office, a man with an income of more than two hundred thousand livres (8750 *l.*), had a pension of thirty thousand livres (1312 *l.* 10 *s.*) a-year out of the secret service money. He instantly, and without scruple, cancelled all these *unjust* pensions, and with a single stroke of his pen gained between six and seven hundred thousand livres (between 26,000 *l.* and 30,000 *l.*) for his department. *He had courage enough to resist the king's repugnance on this occasion,* and, when the business was once finished, his majesty was extremely well pleased with it." It would have been more candid to have said, that the king, ever patient of insults, submitted with a good grace to the new privation, which, as it affected others, he felt more sensibly. The case of M. Dogny, supposing it to be true, is very artfully put ; but in this instance, as in that of the red book, no mention is made of many persons who had no other recompence for essential, and perhaps hazardous services, and no other means of subsistence. Amongst other methods of increasing the king's adherents, which the exertions of his adversaries rendered necessary, Montmorin and de Lessart had prevailed on him to nominate successors to all the ministers in foreign courts : Dumouriez suppressed these double nominations ; he states the produce of his reforms at a million (43,750 *l.*) ; but the injury they did to the royal cause is incalculable, nor can the assertions of pretended patriotism and philosophy give a false colour to his motives.

He extended his reforms and economy to various other branches of his department ; and reduced his

His conduct in office.

own appointments from one hundred and fifty thousand (6562 *l.*) to one hundred and twenty thousand livres (5687 *l.* 10 *s.*). But before he made this reduction, he obtained from the assembly a decree allowing six millions (262,500 *l.*) for secret service money, which was not to be accounted for. This allowance had been applied for by former ministers, but constantly refused. His confidential agent in office was Bonne Carrere, whom he nominated director-general. This man was a gambler by profession, and a person of great intrigue among the women. Dumouriez did not esteem him the less for these qualities, and persisted in retaining him, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his colleagues and the reproaches of the public.

20th Apr.
War de-
creed.

The first effective operation of Dumouriez's ministry was the denunciation of war against the emperor. The great fault imputed to preceding ministers had been the avoiding of this measure, which the Jacobins wished to precipitate as the sole means of consolidating and increasing their power. The eagerness of Dumouriez was better suited to their views^b: he pressed the king to send another ambassador instead of M. de Noailles, and to write to the emperor in such a style as would compel a declaration. Before the delivery of this letter, a courier arrived from M. de Noailles, with a letter which Dumouriez communicated to the assembly, and obtained a repeal of the decree of accusation which had been passed against M. de Noailles. He then drew up a report to the assembly, in consequence of which, after a long discussion, war was unanimously decreed.

Differences
in the ca-
binet.

Before this period, there had been some dissensions between the members of administration. They had, at first, agreed very well; but Roland and Claviere soon began to entertain jealousies of Dumouriez,

^b Impartial History, vol. ii. p. 2, Moore's View, &c.

who

who attached to himself Lacoste and Degrares. This dispute appears to have originated from madame Roland's practice of giving cabinet dinners, to which the Girondist members of the assembly were invited, and by this means obtained undue information of the intended measures of government. Dumouriez remonstrated against this glaring impropriety; but the uxorious Roland could not be prevailed on to discontinue it; and Dumouriez and his friends desisted from bringing their papers to these meetings. This is his representation of the matter: on the other side it is averred, that the immorality and profligacy of Bonne Carrere gave offence to the virtuous Roland; and that at one of these dinners he, in presence of Brissot and Genfonné, so warmly remonstrated with him on the subject, as to induce him to abstain from meeting with the deputies, or bringing his papers to the cabinet dinners¹. The scale of probability inclines to Dumouriez's account; for it is very unlikely that personal character was much considered by these persons; and if that was the motive of disagreement, it could not have extended to Lacoste, Degrares, and Duranthon. The breach, however, grew wider; madame Roland took every opportunity to urge the impossibility of the king's being sincere in his love for the constitution; and to impel her husband to act in a manner disrespectful to the sovereign and disagreeable to his rivals².

This mode of conduct being followed by Claviere, while Dumouriez and his associates preserved a shew of respect, naturally produced gratitude and confidence from the king to those whom, by comparison, he considered his friends. Dumouriez had two private interviews with the queen, of which he has given an account. At the first, the unfortunate princess gave way to those emotions which her situation excited, and expressed anger and antipathy

*Distress of
the king
and queen.*

¹ Appeal, &c. vol. ii. p. 15.

² Ibid. vol. i. p. 67.

against

against her oppressors. At the second she made those heart-piercing complaints which feelingly described her miserable situation¹. Had Dumouriez possessed, I will not say the sentiments of a *French gentleman*, but merely the common principles of humanity, he would have exerted all his address, risked all his credit, or hazarded his life, if necessary, to alleviate her sufferings. He contented himself, however, with exhibiting consternation and uttering sighs, confining his consolations to *advice* which he knew to be impracticable, a cordial union with the national assembly.

Insolence
of the re-
publicans.

The strength of the king's opponents in the cabinet was augmented by the resignation of Degraives, who was succeeded by Servan, an intimate friend of Brissot. This new ally increased their audacity, and they determined no longer to keep any measures. Madame Roland had suggested the necessity of turning out Dumouriez to preserve the power themselves^m; and Dumouriez thought to shelter himself by means of the king. The attack was commenced at one of the cabinet dinners, where Guadet produced a draft of a long, harsh, and insolent letter, to be written by the six ministers to the king, for the purpose of compelling him to dismiss his non-juring confessor, and take one who had submitted to take the civic oath. The opposition made by Dumouriez and Lacoste to this tyrannical proposal enraged Guadet; but it was at length withdrawn, though not without a threat that it should be speedily renewed.

Further
attempts.

Foiled in this attempt, and seeing the impossibility of uniting the cabinet, the Rolandists determined to declare open war. They commenced the attack in their news-papers, by decrying Dumouriez and Lacoste as enemies to the constitution, who encou-

¹ See Memoirs of the KING, &c.

^m Appeal, &c. vol. i. p. 73; vol. ii. p. 16.

raged

raged the king to resist it in the most important articles. They wished to force the worthless Sillery on the king as governor to his children ; and to send a horde of Jacobins as commissioners to St. Domingo ; but were defeated in both their attempts. They made a personal attack on Dumouriez respecting the six millions (262,500 l.) allowed for secret service money, by attempting to take advantage of an omission in the drawing up of the decree ; but Dumouriez made them abandon the project and amend the decree. From these successes it is probable that he entertained hopes of securing to himself the situation of prime minister ; of establishing the royal authority to a certain degree under his own auspices, and obtaining a more certain and more exalted situation than could be expected from the party to which he had hitherto been attached. But in trying the experiment he would incur no risk : he urged the king to an exertion of his power ; and when he found the ill effects of it, treacherously deserted him.

The council was now irreparably divided. The Rolandists took every opportunity to insult the king and torture his feelings ; while Dumouriez, Lacoste, and Duranthon parried their attacks. Roland published in his paper, called *the Thermometer*, an account of these meetings, and put the worst possible construction on the conduct of the king and his friends. Servan, without consulting the king or the council, obtained from the assembly the infamous decree for a camp of twenty thousand men. When it had been sanctioned and delivered to the king, Dumouriez violently reprobated it, and advised the king to oppose his *veto*. He observed a similar conduct with respect to the decree for transporting or imprisoning the non-juring priests ; a measure which militated so much against the king's conscience, that he declared he would never consent. At length

Change
of mi-
nist:y.

Roland

Roland rendered it impossible to preserve any longer moderation, by reading in council his audacious libel, written as a letter to the king. The patience of the unhappy monarch was worn out by these repeated attacks; he determined to dismiss the three republican ministers; Dumouriez promised to support him both in that and in refusing his sanction to the two obnoxious decrees, and nominated the new ministry himself.

Dumouriez war minister.

As no person could immediately be found to fill the war department, Dumouriez accepted it himself, and held it together with that of foreign affairs till Naillac, who was to be his successor in the latter, should return from Deux Ponts, where he was minister.

14th June.
Attends
the assembly.

In consequence of his new appointment, Dumouriez was obliged to attend the assembly. He was already apprised of the endeavours making by the dismissed ministers to incense the people against the king and all his adherents, and resolved to sacrifice his sovereign to his own safety and popularity. He reached the assembly at the moment when the reading of Roland's letter was finished, and when the printing, and transmission of it to the departments had just been decreed. He saw the tribunes filled with *sans-culottes*, prepared to receive him with screams and hootings, and the Girondists anticipating his disgrace and their own triumph. He was not dismayed, for he well knew the character of his adversaries; strong in projecting secret frauds, weak when resolutely opposed, and dragged into the light; cruel and violent in their character of persecutors, but timid and abject when attacked. After announcing the death of Gouvion, who had been killed in an action near Maubeuge, he proceeded to read a memorial relative to the war department, which he was not permitted to finish without many interruptions. Being ordered to sign his memorial,
he

he did so, and instead of delivering it to the door-keeper, went and placed it with a haughty air on the table, traversed the whole length of the hall with a slow pace, and went out by the principal door, fiercely surveying his enemies. This conduct silenced the tribunes; their curiosity was excited, and they precipitated themselves from the galleries and corridors of the hall to have a nearer view of him. A violent debate ensued, accounts of which were occasionally brought to him as he walked in the garden of the Tuilleries; but he treated the efforts of his adversaries with contempt, especially after they had decreed the printing of his memorial, which he knew would restore him to the favor of the party who were gaining the ascendancyⁿ.

Dumouriez now found it necessary to effect a speedy and cordial reconciliation with the Orleans faction. He foresaw that the king could not obtain the advantage in the contest, and resolved to make a merit of betraying him. He accordingly intimated to him the intentions of his adversaries, and the views of the formidable mob, which was already beginning to collect in the suburbs, and declared, without circumlocution, that he must resign, unless the decree were sanctioned. The king, conscious of his own rectitude, answered, "Do not think, Sir, that I am to be terrified by menaces; my resolution is fixed." But though the unhappy sovereign displayed this resolution before a man of whose consummate treachery he was now well convinced, he wrote to his friend, M. Bertrand, in terms which indicated anguish and indignation. "Only conceive," he says, "the strange inconsistency of this man; after having persuaded me to dismiss those three ministers, because they insisted on my sanctioning the decrees, he now abandons me

Treachery
to the
king.

ⁿ The courage of Dumouriez on this occasion is attested by Dr. Moore. View, vol. ii. p. 484.

"for persisting in the measure which he himself
"urged."

28th June.
Resigns.

Dumouriez continued in the office of minister at war but four days, during which he pretends that he performed an astonishing quantity of business, so much that a critic on his work shews, with great ability, that it was physically impossible¹. But he took care to give in his resignation, and make his peace with the predominant faction before the grand explosion burst forth. He announced his resignation to the assembly on the 19th of June, in a hypocritical letter, wherein he said, that he envied the fate of the virtuous Gouvion, and should think himself most happy if a cannon-ball should unite all opinions respecting him. The assembly decreed, that he might repair to his post in the army of the north², where, it is worthy of remark, that the duke of Orleans was on a visit, the purport of which was obvious.

Conduct
towards
la Fayette.

The ex-minister remained in Paris some days after his resignation. In that interval, la Fayette presented himself at the bar of the assembly, with complaints against the Jacobin club and the Jacobin administration. That party, wishing to set up another military leader in opposition to him, desired Dumouriez to repair to the club, and promised to bring the contest to an immediate issue; but he did not accede to the proposal. During the irruption into the king's palace, he shut himself up at home; he alleges as a reason, that he could not be of any service. Had he really felt the contempt of death which he affected in his letter to the assembly, he might then have displayed it to great advantage:

30th June.
Observations.

* Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 284. See also from p. 266 to 287, for a full account of the transaction. Dumouriez relates it with a very different colour, but yet, even in his own account, his conduct appears far from candid; however, without entering into personal discussions respecting veracity, I think the greatest credit due to M. Bertrand, on the ground of disinterestedness.

¹ Lettres sur Dumouriez, p. 39.

² Journals, &c.

had he been animated by that loyalty and attachment to the king which he has since pretended, he would at least have made some effort in his favor, either in the palace or in the city. But it is unnecessary to pursue the subject; whoever shall write the panegyric of the *minister* Montmorin, of the *general* Whittinghoff, or of any person, male or female, who on that execrable day surrounded their degraded sovereigns, need be at no pains to stigmatize the hypocrite Dumouriez; the contrast is in itself sufficient.

At length, having passed his accounts, he left Paris to join the army at Valenciennes under marshal Luckner. The army was, at this period, divided: the majority of the generals preserved the relics of military honor, and were desirous to co-operate with la Fayette in his measures, so tardily adopted, for preserving the royal family. The interests of Orleans were supported by Valence and Biron, who were extremely anxious for the assistance of Dumouriez. On his arrival at Valenciennes he was treated with the most marked neglect by all but those two. The command, which was his due in point of seniority, was withheld; his arrival was not noticed in the order of the day; neither the countersign nor military regulations were communicated to him; and he was not attended by any guard of honor: in short, he remained, during several days, at Valenciennes, as a private individual. He was treated in a scoffing, contemptuous manner by the staff officers, and with great bluntness by the marshal himself. Orleans had made his appearance at Valenciennes, but his influence was insufficient to balance that of la Fayette, and during his stay he saw nobody but Biron.

6th July.
Joins the
army.

Treated
with con-
tempt.

La Fayette was now expected daily, and Dumouriez, who had probably received information from Paris of the increasing strength of the faction to which he was devoted, evinced a resolution to emerge from his obscurity. He obtruded himself resolutely

Arrival of
la Fayette.

resolutely on Luckner, gave advice, notwithstanding his repugnance to receive it, and persuaded him that he was in an error in yielding to the intrigues of la Fayette, and the influence of Charles Lameth and Mathieu Montmorenci. But all these reasonings were nullified by the arrival of la Fayette, to whom Luckner paid the most implicit respect. All the general officers received him at the head of their respective divisions, except Biron, who pretended not to have been informed of the regulation, and Dumouriez, who had no post assigned him.

Dumouriez at Maulde.

After another remonstrance, Luckner, to get rid of Dumouriez, appointed him to command the camp at Maulde, a situation inferior to what his rank and seniority entitled him to expect, but which he accepted with cheerfulness. Here he employed himself in perfecting discipline, and gaining the esteem of the soldiers. He used every means to excite enthusiasm, and concentrate esteem. One of his most extraordinary expedients was the choice of two female *aides-de-camp*, named Fernig^r. While he was thus occupied, the plan was formed that Luckner and la Fayette should change the armies under their command, and Luckner summoned Dumouriez to Valenciennes to consult him on the occasion. On his arrival, he was greatly surprised to meet with la Fayette, who received him with cool dignity. After discussing the intended operation, Dumouriez

Interview with la Fayette.

^r These two young ladies were daughters of a register, who had formerly been a quarter master of Hussars, and resided at Montagne: the eldest was twenty-two, the youngest seventeen years of age; both were small, delicate, well educated, and modest. Dumouriez encouraged their ardour, made them march with all the detachments, and frequently published an account of their conduct, which interested the public in a very great degree, and pleased the convention so much that they gave them a house. They accompanied the general from Maulde into Champaigne, and afterwards into the Low Countries; they were present at the arrestation of the commissioners, and accompanied him in his flight, in consequence of which they were outlawed. Their heroism is extraordinary, the more so as it was not attended with any coarseness of demeanor, and their chastity is unimpeached.

faid

said to him, "You are doubtless sorry, as well as myself, that I should be, for a few days, under your command; I however promise, in the presence of the marshal, to serve you faithfully, provided you labor for the good of your country. But you may easily imagine I cannot forget your conduct, and I swear to you that we shall determine our quarrel at the conclusion of the war." This menace gave rise to the report of a duel between the two generals, which was circulated at Paris.

Dumouriez now received positive orders for his conduct, but in the absence of la Fayette and Luckner, and after the arrival of Dillon, he assumed a power of disobeying or extending them according to his own judgment. In fact, nothing else could be expected from the conditional promise he had made to la Fayette, and from the insubordination inculcated by the Jacobin faction. This produced a complaint from Luckner to the king. La Fayette sent orders to Dillon to arrest Dumouriez, and send him to Metz, which, however, Dillon was afraid to execute, and therefore never revealed them till after la Fayette's defection. La Fayette had previously applied for a decree, authorising this measure, but it was frustrated by the representations of Dumouriez, who maintained a constant correspondence with the national assembly.

Disobedience of Dumouriez.

Meanwhile the war was carried on merely on defensive principles, in spite of the remonstrances of Dumouriez, who was anxious to attempt the conquest of the Low Countries. Disappointed in this aim, he waited for a more favorable opportunity; and continued to increase the skill and discipline of his soldiers, and to augment their personal attachment to himself. While he was thus occupied, the catastrophe of the 10th of August took place. Arthur Dillon, with a frankness and promptitude which do him the greatest honour, had addressed a short

10th Aug.
Conduct
of Dumouriez.

and energetic proclamation to his army, recommending to them a renewal of the oath to support the constitution, and remain faithful to the nation, the law, and the king. He transmitted orders to Dumouriez to take the same measures with the soldiers under his command; but Dumouriez was influenced by considerations widely different. He was better apprized of the real state of affairs in Paris; and had learned from his faction there, *not to occupy his attention about the person of the king, who, all august as he was, was no more than a secondary object*. Independent of his real predilection for the Orleans party, he perceived that, by obeying Dillon, he must have acted in a capacity subordinate to both him and la Fayette. He accordingly disregarded the orders, and administered the oath to maintain liberty and equality. He already anticipated his triumph over Dillon, and congratulated himself on his approaching consequence in a letter to Genfonné, where he says; "Dillon has undone himself
 " by an avowal of his attachment to the royal
 " cause. I have formally disobeyed him; I hope I
 " shall at length have it in my power to render
 " great service to the sovereignty and liberty of the
 " French nation."

Com-
mander in
chief.

But these expectations were not immediately fulfilled. La Fayette had completed his career by flight, after having imprisoned the commissioners charged to arrest him. The commissioners sent to the other divisions of the army had received Dillon's apologies, and restored him to his rank. Dumouriez thought this decision injurious to himself, and

* Dumouriez's own words. Life, vol. iii. p. 39. His whole reasoning on this event, is absurd and fallacious, in proportion to the treachery of his original conduct, and the hypocrisy of his subsequent statements.

† Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 165. Impartial History, vol. ii. p. 120, &c.

‡ Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 172.

prevailed

prevailed on Couthon, who was then at St. Amand, to represent the case to the commissioners. Meanwhile the friends of Dumouriez in Paris, had ^{24th Aug.} procured the complete gratification of his wishes by nominating him commander in chief of the two armies. His first step was to make some promotions which he deemed necessary for the good of the service, and to liberate the commissioners whom la Fayette had arrested.

On taking the command of la Fayette's army, Dumouriez found it in a most alarming state. ^{State of the army.} A general consternation prevailed. The soldiers considered all their officers as traitors, and neglected all discipline and subordination. The troops, especially the cavalry, were attached to their former general, and prejudiced against their new commander. He was execrated as the author of a war which promised neither honour or advantage, and which was no less unpopular in the camp than in the country. He was unknown to the officers with whom he was to co-operate, and the soldiers he was to command. The news of the king of Prussia's invasion spread terror and dismay. Verdun was besieged; and an army of only twenty-three thousand disorganized troops was all the force opposed to upwards of eighty thousand well-disciplined men, conducted by a powerful monarch and celebrated generals.

Under these inauspicious circumstances, Dumouriez commenced a campaign, which, from its success, may be reckoned among the most glorious of those which adorn the page of history. It is not within the compass of this work to describe the manœuvres of the war, nor shall I attempt to elucidate the motives which directed the conduct of the allies. Much has been written, and many contradictory narratives confidently circulated, but nothing diminishes the military reputation of the general. Whether any part of his success was owing to dexterous negotiation or deceitful promises,

Com-
mence-
ment of
the cam-
paign.

28th Aug.
Council
of war.

cannot be exactly ascertained, but the conduct of his opponents is in many respects inexplicable.

Surrender
of Verdun.

Opposition
of the
generals.

His first step was to assemble a council of war, in which Dillon, who now served under Dumouriez, recommended a plan which had for its principal object the defence of Paris. Dumouriez did not express his sentiments on the subject, but in private determined otherwise; he communicated his projects to colonel, afterwards general, Thouvenot, and they jointly resolved to defend the forest of Argonne, as the Thermopylæ of France. Part of his hopes were founded on the obstruction which the Prussians were likely to encounter at Verdun; that place, however, surrendered without any defence, notwithstanding a reinforcement which he had distressed himself to send, and in spite of the remonstrances and desperate heroism of Beaurepaire.

When Dumouriez had assumed the position on which all his expectations depended, he had still inconceivable difficulties to surmount. The other generals openly disapproved his plan; they censured all his measures, and as each of them had his little

* BEAUREPAIRE was colonel of the regiment of Mayenne and Loire, and commander of the garrison of Verdun. The town was not strong, but well victualled; the garrison consisted of two battalions only. The magistrates and citizens proposed to capitulate; he repaired to the town-hall, and remonstrated against the intentions. His arguments, however, failed of effect; treason or terror pleaded more powerfully on the other side, and the surrender was resolved on. Enraged at this, Beaurepaire drew a pistol and shot himself in full council. His soldiers, animated by this act of heroism, would not suffer him to be buried in a city which was soon to be in the possession of an enemy, but conveyed him to St. Menehould. The national assembly, decreed that his remains should be moved from St. Menehould to Paris, and interred in the Pantheon; that an inscription should be placed on his monument, denoting that he preferred death to a capitulation with tyrants; and that his pay should be continued to his widow and son during their lives. The regiment of which he had been colonel assumed his name, and when the Prussians evacuated Verdun, the commune of Paris resolved that the name of that city should be changed to Beaurepaire. This act of suicide was beneficial to the public, by exciting heroic sentiments and resolute fidelity; the French were so sensible of this, that soon after the event, the DEATH OF BEAUREPAIRE formed the subject of a dramatic spectacle at Paris,

canon

and

cabal,

cabal, his junto of friends in the metropolis, to them they made constant appeals. The soldiers were actuated by the same spirit; though discipline was in some measure enforced, yet they complained loudly of their sufferings, and their impatience frequently broke out in remonstrances against his conduct in confining them to the dreary wilds of *Champagne pouilleuse*. In this state he continued, enforcing his orders in defiance of opposition, and gaining the hearts of his men by frankness and affability, till the rainy season commenced; when the situation of the invaders became truly deplorable. Their supplies were intercepted by the garrisons of Sedan, Montmedy, Thionville, and Metz; sickness and famine made the most dismal ravages. It was the interest of the invaders to have attempted finishing the campaign by one decisive engagement; this Dumouriez knew, and, notwithstanding the ardour of some troops who were willing to risk every thing, he resolved to preserve his strength, and gain conquest by delay. He therefore determined to shift his position, and retreat from Grandpré to St. Menchould, which he effected in the night, with great privacy, in good order, and without accident, except an alarm arising from the mistake of general Chazot, ten thousand of whose troops fled before fifteen hundred Prussians, with such precipitation and such increasing panic, that, but for the good conduct of Duval, Stengel, and Miranda, the whole army might have been annihilated. Dumouriez afterwards sent fifty of the deserters to Paris, disarmed and pinioned.

16th Sept,
Retreat
from
Grandpré.

Some of the fugitives spread the alarm with which they were infected even to Paris. In that perturbed city, terror, suspicion, jealousy, and fury prevailed. The most discordant opinions were broached respecting the principles and views of Dumouriez. He was with equal confidence accused of cowardice and temerity, indecision and obstinacy; treachery

State of
Paris.

was not omitted; and it was even asserted that he was gone over to the invading army, but the assembly prevented this rumour from gaining ground, by imprisoning the reporter. The Rolandists in administration pressed him to fall back for the defence of Paris, and meditated a flight across the Loire, removing with them the king and the assembly. Dumouriez, however, refused obedience to their commands, engaging his own responsibility on the event, and their projected flight was opposed and prevented by Danton. The general's answers were always couched in the most positive terms of disobedience, and sometimes of contempt for the ministry, who were too timid, ill-informed, and irresolute to enforce submission or claim respect.

Abolition
of royalty.

Meanwhile the national convention had assembled and pronounced the abolition of royalty. On this subject Dumouriez cloaks his principles under the semblance of patriotism. He says, "the general was afflicted at the extreme precipitation of such a measure, but he had the enemy in sight, and whatever might be his own private opinion, it did not belong to him, in so critical a position, to dispute with his nation the right of annihilating a constitution which it had given itself, and of changing the nature of its government." The absurdity and hypocrisy of this position are gross and flagrant. It seems to infer that the right of the nation to annihilate the constitution arose from their having created it; an insinuation equally false and ridiculous, tending to create endless uncertainty in government, and justify the violation of oaths and compacts. The pretence that it did not belong to him to dispute, comes with an ill grace from a man whose whole conduct was a series of refractoriness and disobedience, and who boasts that he maintained the position of his army by disputing the com-

* Moore's Journal, vol. i. p. 241.

† See DANTON.

mands

mands of the functionaries of that very nation to which he pretends such high respect. He further pretends that a fear of the invading army and of the emigrants ought to have restrained him from making any effort on behalf of the king; but he knew that, at that period, he could have obtained from the king of Prussia and from the emigrants, any conditions he chose, and have restored peace and royalty by a safe and honourable negotiation.

Soon after the abolition of royalty, commissioners from the convention arrived in the army, and it is worthy of observation that Sillery, a man entirely devoted to Orleans, was one of them; Carra and Prieur were the other two. Several skirmishes had taken place, which tended to convince the invaders

Conferences with colonel Manstein.

that under the present circumstances, it would be impossible to attain the object of the campaign by force. General Kellermann intimated to Dumouriez, that a conference was requested by colonel

22d Sept.

Manstein on behalf of the king of Prussia. Dumouriez immediately repaired to the place appointed, where, under pretence of negotiating an exchange of prisoners, a conversation was begun on the general objects of the war. In the course of this conference, Dumouriez was informed in the most unequivocal terms, that it depended upon him to put an end to hostilities; that, far from being restrained in his endeavours, he should be furnished with all the assistance he could desire, if he would terminate the disorders of France; that he should dictate the terms of peace, and that he would thus render the greatest service not only to his native country, but to all Europe. The reply was evasive and general.

At a second interview they came more immediately to the point. Dumouriez having attempted to prove that it was contrary to the interests of the king of Prussia to continue the war, Manstein assured him it was not the wish of that monarch, and presented him with some propositions drawn up in

24th.

six articles, which Dumouriez himself acknowledges to be very moderate. The first was, that the king should be liberated from prison, and that his authority should be restored to him in the same manner as it existed previously to the tenth of August. In answer to this, Dumouriez contented himself with shewing the *bulletin*, containing the decree for the abolition of royalty, expressing his extreme concern that things were carried to such an extremity, more especially as he did not perceive any remedy.

Retreat of
the ar-
mies.
30th Sept.

A truce was agreed upon, so far as related to the skirmishes between the fronts of the two armies; but a few days afterwards, the duke of Brunswick having published his famous manifesto, Dumouriez terminated the truce without further conference. In two days, the combined armies commenced their retreat, which, though perpetually harassed and opposed, they at length effected, having lost, by the account of Dumouriez, near thirty thousand men, of whom not more than two thousand fell by the sword.

Reflec-
tions on
the cam-
paign.

Thus ended this celebrated campaign, which, whatever glory it may give to Dumouriez as a general and a negotiator, stamps indelible disgrace on his name as a man and a subject. His affected respect for a decree of the convention, so surreptitiously passed as that for the abolition of royalty, and his omitting to publish the king of Prussia's proposals, so as to give the nation at large the means of judging of their expediency, display his motives in the most indubitable manner. His conduct could not be beneficial either to the king or the nation; it was calculated merely to benefit the Orleans family, whose views would have been ruined by peace, or by any treaty in which the interest of the unfortunate monarch was at all considered. At the same time, it must be allowed, that next to concluding the negotiation by dictating terms of peace, Dumouriez embraced the wisest course he could possibly adopt.

adopt. He justified the opinion of the marquis de Bouillé, that he was a no less able negotiator than skilful general*. By his discourses with Manstein, and his memorial to the king of Prussia, he infused into that monarch those sentiments which, reinforced by other arguments, contributed to produce a coolness on his part to the objects of the war, created jealousies between him and the emperor, and finally occasioned his defection from the grand alliance.

Previous to his undertaking the conquest of the Low Countries, Dumouriez was anxious to taste the intoxicating draught of popularity in the capital. Accordingly, without obtaining leave of absence, which he pretends was not necessary, he repaired to Paris, and presented himself at the bar of the national convention. He made a speech, in which he assured the legislature, that "liberty was triumphant every where; that, guided by philosophy, it would soon overspread the universe, and, after having crushed despotism and enlightened the people, would be seated on all thrones." His speech was replete with boasts of the valour and good qualities of his soldiers, and with insulting reflections on the enemy. He complimented the convention on the constitutional laws they were about to frame, in which he anticipated the happiness and fraternity of nations; but he did not express, directly or indirectly, the smallest solicitude respecting the fate of the king, or a wish that the rigours of his captivity should be mitigated. A prodigious concourse attended from the expectation of seeing and hearing him, but when his arrival was announced to the convention, the president suffered him to wait an hour in the antichamber before he was introduced. This cool reception was sufficient to check the glow of confidence, and af-

15th Oct.
Arrives in
Paris.

* Memoirs, p. 592.

forded

Calumnies
of Marat.

fording but an hopeless specimen of republican gratitude.

To prevent suspicion and obviate calumny, Dumouriez had found it necessary to declare that he only came to Paris to arrange the plan of a winter campaign, and that he intended to stay four days. During this period he was treated with the most flattering attention by the public, and by the Gironde in particular; but this circumstance tended to injure him, and in the end was fatal to his power. Even while he remained in Paris, calumnies were circulated against him; the greatness of his services and the brilliancy of his reputation could not shield him from the insolence of Marat. The principal cause of complaint brought forward by this worthless incendiary, was his treatment of two battalions of Parisian federates. These men had murdered four Prussian or emigrant deserters, who joined the French army at Rhetel, and by order of Dumouriez the whole battalions had been disarmed, but on delivering up the perpetrators of the murder, their arms and colours had been restored. The culprits, in number forty-two, were sent to Paris to be tried by the sections to which they belonged. One of the principal delinquents, whose name was Palloy, having escaped to Paris, complained of the general's conduct to Marat, who immediately manufactured a charge of incivism, counter-revolution, and aristocracy, with which he daily filled the pages of his news-paper, and attempted to obtrude a false representation of the business on the convention. He also seized the opportunity, when Dumouriez was enjoying, in company with the ministers, a *fête* given by a distinguished female at the *Theatre des Variétés*, to disturb the prevailing harmony, and insult the general in public. He went, accompanied

^a Debates. Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 111.

by

by the two other commissioners whom the Jacobins had appointed to inquire into the affair, Bентабле and Montault, and accosting the general in the most brutal manner, summoned him to tell how he could have the audacity to commit a violent and tyrannical act against estimable citizens. Dumouriez, surveying him with scorn, replied, "What! are you the man called Marat?—I have nothing to say to you." But he addressed himself to the other commissioners, and entered into a full explanation of his conduct. Marat, however, did not drop the affair; he made a report of the interview at the Jacobins, replete with sarcasms against Dumouriez; he procured a new trial for the murderers, obtained a reversal of their sentence, and the charge of criminality was retorted on general Chazon, who had first complained on the subject^b.

Notwithstanding this insult offered by the commissioners, Dumouriez could not dispense with the necessity of visiting the Jacobin club, where he was received in a very flattering manner. The compliments of the republican general were answered by the declamations of the republican president, Danton, and the absurdities of the buffoon Collot d'Herbois^c.

16th Oct.
Dumouriez appears at the Jacobins.

The private transactions of Dumouriez during his visit to Paris cannot be ascertained. Nothing which appears from any narrative by himself or others, justifies it on any ostensible account. It is ridiculous to assert that he left his army to concert a plan of operations with ministers whom he made a merit of disobeying, and with whom he does not appear to have concerted any thing, not even the means of furnishing his troops with the first necessities. The thick veil which hides many of the intrigues of the Orleans faction will perhaps for ever prevent a

Observations.

^b Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 159. 172.

^c Id. p. 157. Robespierre à ses Commettans, vol. i. p. 49.

certain

certain knowledge of his views and engagements; but his conduct at that and subsequent periods proves that he took his bias from the conspirators of the Palais Royal. He was desirous to effect a reconciliation between Danton and the Gironde, and certainly became jealous of the influence of the Mountain, and of the ambition of Robespierre. He attached himself to the ministerial party, who neither loved or esteemed him, and only countenanced him, because their power would be augmented by his success. By this conduct he exasperated the Jacobins, who proclaimed every where that he had come to the capital merely to flatter his vanity, and to concert dangerous plots; and Marat announced, that the general was undertaking the conquest of the Low Countries, with a view to make himself duke of Brabant.

24th Oct.
Joins the
army.

28th.
Proclama-
tion.

3d Nov.
Affair at
Thulin
and
Bouffu,

On his arrival at Valenciennes, he learned that the war minister was changed, Servan having been succeeded by Pache. Although he found the army in want of every necessary, and was without money to pay the troops, yet he resolved to commence his operations. This brilliant campaign, which first spread the terror of the French name, and laid the foundation of all their subsequent successes, was calculated, as Dumouriez observes, like a game of chess, in consequence of great superiority in numbers and artillery. He issued a proclamation to the Belgians, replete with fallacy and delusion, offering assistance which was not designed, and promising forbearance which could not be maintained. After several delays, owing to the refractory disposition of general Labourdonnaye, and the want of supplies, he took the field. His first operation was rather unfortunate, from the ardour and inexperience of the Belgic infantry, who having gained an advantage over the Austrians at the village of Thulin, by pursuing their success too far, were surrounded near the mill of Bouffu, and after sustaining considerable

loss,

loss, were with great difficulty rescued by the regiment of Chamborant. This disaster was speedily repaired by the battle of Jemappe, which was in the highest degree honourable to the French arms. Tournay, Nieuport, Ostend, and Bruges surrendered to Labourdonnaye and Miranda, and the conquest of Flanders was achieved without firing a single musket.

Battle of
Jemappe.

Dumouriez entered Mons, where he was joyfully received by the inhabitants, and after a slight skirmish at the village of Anderlecht, entered Brussels, amidst the acclamations of the people. Having issued orders for the siege of Antwerp, he left Brussels, and encamped at Cortenbergue, intending to establish manufactories of arms at Mechlin. The Austrians occupied the heights of Cumplich, where he determined to attack them, which he did with success. The conflict was long and obstinate, but in the end favourable to the French, who encamped in the place previously taken by the enemy on the field of battle, and established their head-quarters at Tirlemont, from which place the battle takes its name. After staying at this place four days the General encamped at St. Tron. He came up with the Imperialists, who made a very fine retreat, near Liege, and, after a smart partial engagement near Varoux, entered the city of Liege. Miranda having taken Antwerp, and Namur having surrendered to Valence, the conquest of the Low Countries, except the duchy of Luxembourg and the little town of Heure, was completed in a month. Dumouriez was now desirous to take Maestricht, but was opposed and forbid by the ministers; he therefore finished the campaign by the capture of Aix-la-Chapelle, which he entered after a vigorous opposition from the Imperialists, and, being in the utmost distress for provisions, established there his winter-quarters.

7th.
Enters
Mons.
14th.
Brussels.

19th. and
Battle of
Tirle-
mont.

28th.
Enters
Liege.

31st Dec.
Takes
Aix-la-
Chapelle.

During

Rapacity
of the
French.

During the progress of this successful campaign, the people invaded were plundered with the most profligate rapacity. The proclamation was totally disregarded; no distinction was made between the clergy and laity; the churches and the banks were equally obliged to contribute, and the goods in warehouses were no more sacred than the cattle in the fields. Sometimes the pretence was a loan, at others a contribution; the soldiers were furnished with assignats, which they forced the shopkeepers to take at par, and even to give change in money; the Jacobin commissioners enriched themselves without restraint, and Dumouriez is charged with having gratified his avarice by an enormous booty, an accusation against which he awkwardly defends himself^d.

Dumou-
riez goes
to Paris.

Meanwhile the affairs of his faction were coming to a crisis. Dumouriez had been assiduous in confirming his own influence, in dismissing or removing such officers as he could not manage, and in promoting or creating such as he thought would assist in his views. He had been particularly attentive to the duke de Chartres, who was called after his father, Egalité, and endeavoured to display him as the only hope of France. The trial of the king was proceeding amidst doubts, jealousies, and apprehensions. The party who wished his death were not secure of a majority in the convention, and had every reason to fear an insurrection of the people. The Gironde, seeing Orleans in the hands of their enemies, and deriving no hope from him, regardless of the charge of inconsistency, became desirous to save the king. Under these circumstances, Dumouriez left the army and repaired to Paris. It is said that he had contrived to get twenty thousand of his men scattered about the city, whom he could

^d Impartial History, vol. ii. p. 339.

have assembled at pleasure*. This report derives some confirmation from his own remark, that at this period vast numbers of his soldiers deserted, some repaired to Paris, and others amused themselves in the great towns of Flanders.

It is, however, more probable, that all those who were in Paris were absolutely under his command, since he admits, that if the Convention had conceded certain points which he insisted on in four memorials, he could have surrounded himself with a number of officers and soldiers who were come to Paris, and would have had a party sufficiently powerful to oppose the Jacobins, and the *Fédérés* by whom they were supported†.

The first days of his residence at Paris were passed, as he pretends, in his chamber, composing four memorials relative to the public service, which, with a letter, were transmitted to the assembly, and by them referred to a committee. His precise views are absolutely undeterminable. He pretends to have felt the greatest tenderness for his unfortunate sovereign, yet he took no effectual step in his favour, either by force or intreaty. By his own account it appears, that his efforts were confined to paltry and inconsistent attempts to persuade the different factions that it was their interest to save the king; to solitary meditations and to unavailing dialogues with shopkeepers and private individuals. Yet he does not pretend to assert that he offered to cooperate with any of them, or proposed any reasonable project for intimidating those who sought the king's life with such insatiate ferocity. He pretends that he imparted his opinions to Robespierre, yet he

Conduct
during the
King's
trial.

* Peltier's late Picture of Paris, vol. iii. p. 21. Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 232.

† Memoires du General Dumouriez, par lui même, année 1793, Partie i. p. 45. From this publication, the subsequent events of the life of Dumouriez, for which no other authority is given, are derived.

did not attempt to conciliate the Mountain faction; he quarrelled with Dubois de Crancé, Marat was still his implacable enemy, and Robespierre was desirous to have him arrested^s. He is accused of having maintained a constant correspondence with Orleans in private, during his stay, which is not improbable^a. Possibly, he meditated the means of accomplishing the schemes of that worthless wretch, and at the same time detaching him from the Mountain party; or perhaps he aimed at his own personal aggrandizement alone, and in the clash of factions hoped to advance himself. He was, however, a tranquil spectator of the king's execution, and enforced all the decrees which tended to repress the effects of disapprobation in the soldiery¹.

Jan. 1793.
Negotia-
tions.

On his return to the army, Dumouriez found that general Clairfait had taken the most judicious measures to insure the success of the ensuing campaign, and that France was threatened with additional enemies. He had previously endeavoured to obtain a mission to England, but had failed, and now attempted to negotiate with England and Holland through the medium of Lord Auckland, and of the Grand Pensionary, but without success, and most probably without sincerity, as he was undoubtedly apprized of the unalterable resolution of the ruling powers at Paris to engage in hostilities, which they had never desired to avoid, and in which they speedily embarked.

17th Feb.
Campaign
begun.

Dumouriez assembled his troops in the vicinity of Antwerp, where he published an address to the Batavians full of invectives against the Stadtholder. He left Miranda to carry on the siege of Maestricht, but with instructions not to press it till Valence should arrive from Paris, who was to take the com-

^s Garat's Memoirs, p. 74.

^a Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 239.

¹ Dumouriez pretends that at this period he was confined to his chamber by illness.

mand

mand of the army, and the glory of the siege. Dumouriez captured Breda and Klundert, and dispatched Berneron to attack Williamstadt, and d'Arçon to Gertruydenberg, both which places surrendered. The siege of Maestricht was pressed with great vigour, when general Clairfayt, having crossed the Roer in the night, attacked the French posts, and compelled them to fall back to Alderhoven. From this period the French continued to retreat till the battle of Neerwinden, in which Dumouriez was first defeated, and which finally decided the fate of the campaign.

13d, 26th.
4th Mar.
18th.

The conduct of Dumouriez at this period betrays great confusion and indistinctness of projects. He appears to have had the interest of his country in view till the failure of the undefined project for the 10th of March in Paris, in which he was supposed to have been principally consulted, as Brissot observes, that just before that period Marat ceased to libel, and Robespierre began to praise him*. From that time, however, if his conduct was influenced by treachery, his treachery began. He entered into a treaty with the Austrian generals, and announced his intention of marching to Paris to reform the government. But in this he was less cautious than even la Fayette; he had not gained the concurrence of all the generals; on the contrary, Miranda was his avowed enemy, and in the habit of transmitting complaints against him. Valence, Egalité, and Miackzinski alone were to be depended on. He had so little discernment as to rely implicitly on the attachment of his soldiers; he did not perceive that his success was idolized and not his person; or that those who would have followed him through every danger in the path of victory and glory, would desert him in that of adversity and disgrace. This temerity on his part well justifies the

* Brissot à ses Commettans, p. 117.

farcaſm of Robeſpierre, who termed him a quack hero¹, and the cenſure of Montjoye, who compares him to a hero of romance².

His con-
verſation
with the
commiſ-
ſioners.

28th Mar.

Meanwhile he had tranſmitted numerous remonſtrances to Paris, that his army was reduced by the negligence or ſuſpicion of Pache, the war-miniſter, to the moſt wretched ſtate of diſtreſs. Marat renewed his invectives againſt Dumouriez, and aſſumed the credit of a prophet, for having foretold that he would abſcond like la Fayette. The Jacobins, on the news of his ill ſucceſs, demanded his head. He had now almoſt evacuated the Low-Countries, and was met at Tournay by madame Sillery, and the wife of young Egalité, who came to aid his deſigns, and partake of his triumph. The commiſſioners of the executive power found him in company with madame Sillery, young Egalité, and Valence: they had a long and violent altercation, in which Dumouriez expreſſed his opinion that the Jacobins would ruin France, and intimated his determination to ſave it, though they ſhould call him a Cæſar, a Cromwell, or a Monk. He declared loudly for a king, but profeſſed that it was of little conſequence to France whether it was a James, a Louis, or a PHILIP. He reſuſed to communicate his plan of counter-revolution, but announced an intention to conquer Belgium for himſelf, and to reign there under the protection of the Houſe of Auſtria³.

29th.
Ordered to
the bar.

Before this converſation was reported to the convention, a decree had paſſed ordering him to the bar; and Bournonville and four commiſſioners were ſent to arreſt him at the head of the army, and convey him to Paris. They halted at Liſle, and diſpatched a ſummons to him to appear in that city to

¹ Garat's Memoirs, p. 74.

² Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 247.

³ Cambaceres' Report to the Convention. See Debates, April 1.

answer

answer the charges against him. He answered, that he could not leave the army, and that he valued his head too much to submit it to an arbitrary tribunal. The commissioners proceeded to St. Amand, where his head-quarters were then established, and being admitted to his presence, explained the object of their mission, and endeavoured to persuade him to obedience. A long conference took place, in which he attempted to vindicate his own conduct, and to induce them to judge favorably of him. At length, finding that he made no impression, he exclaimed, "It is time to put an end to this;" and ordered the commissioners to be seized, and sent to the prince de Cobourg as hostages for the royal family.

ad April.
Arrested the
commis-
sioners.

He passed that night in composing an address to the army, and other papers. The address to the army he delivered the next day at the camp, and it produced some favorable appearances. He then returned to St. Amand, and harangued the corps of artillery, who also appeared satisfied; and, to testify his confidence in them, he slept there. The next morning, Dumouriez left his friend Thouvenot at St. Amand, and departed for Condé. Within half a league of that fortress he was met by a messenger from general Neuilly, who advised him not to approach, as the garrison was in a state of the utmost fermentation. He had just before met with a column of volunteers marching towards Condé, who, however, made no attempt against him; but when they saw him accosted by Neuilly's messenger, they cried, "Stop, stop!" and immediately commenced a pursuit. He mounted a horse belonging to a servant of Chartres, and escaped, through a dreadful discharge of musketry, along the Scheldt, which he crossed, and reached a place called Wikers on the Imperial territory. From this place he continued his route to Bury on foot, where he spent

10.
Further
proceed-
ings.

4th.

5th.

the night in digesting the proclamation of the prince de Cobourg, which appeared the next day, together with his own address to the French nation. The proclamation is conceived in the most manly, liberal, and conciliating terms; but neither that or the address produced any effect. At day-break, Dumouriez, escorted by fifty Imperial dragoons, proceeded to the advanced guard of the camp of Maulde. He harangued the troops; but though there was no open opposition, he observed some indications of that spirit, and several groupes assembled. He then repaired to St. Amand, but, as he was entering the city, received intelligence that the corps of artillery had during the night risen on their general, and were marching towards Valenciennes. Alarmed at this intelligence, he resolved to secure his retreat; and, having seized the military chest, made his escape, accompanied by general and colonel Thouvenot, Chartres, Colonel Montjoye, the Fernigs, madame Sillery, and a few other persons of some distinction, and attended by 700 horse, and 800 foot. The military chest was recaptured by the French. Thus ended, in little more than a year after his nomination to the ministry, the eventful career of this extraordinary man. He passed through all the stages of celebrity and disgrace with such rapidity, that he may justly be termed "a meteor, which did but blaze, and rove, and die."

Its consequences.

An event so momentous as the defection of Dumouriez necessarily excited great speculations and a considerable ferment in Paris. Each of the contending factions endeavoured to make use of it against their opponents. When the report of Cambaceres was read, an attempt was made to implicate Danton, who however disengaged himself with great dexterity, and rolled back the accusation on the Brissotines. As the Mountain was at that time in
great

great esteem, the attempt was successful; and though Danton was known to be inimical to the Brissotines, the calumnies spread abroad accelerated their ruin, and facilitated the events of the 31st of May*.

The Emperor conferred on Dumouriez the rank of feld-zeugmeister, or general of artillery, but never employed him. After his retreat, he published several addresses to the French nation, which were never noticed. The convention set a price on his head, and offered a reward of an hundred thousand crowns (12,500*l.*) and a full restoration of property to any emigrant who should destroy him. He wished to take refuge in Switzerland, but was forbid to enter the country; he then went to Stuttgart, and craved an audience of the duke of Wirtemberg, but was commanded to quit his territories. From that place he went to Margentheim in Franconia, professing his intention to live in solitude and write history; but he soon returned to Brussels, and published a proclamation to the French nation, and another to the convention†.

Dumouriez a wanderer

Foiled in every attempt to appear advantageously on the continent, he resolved to visit England; and for that purpose obtained a passport under a feigned name and character, that of Peralta, an Italian merchant. On his arrival in London, he wrote to lord Grenville, soliciting, in abject terms, leave to remain near London till the end of the Revolution. A polite answer was returned, in which Dumouriez was informed, that his continuance in England could not be permitted. He staid only one day in London, during which he was visited by several persons of distinction. After a stay of a few days at Dover, where he maintained the most cautious pri-

20th June.
Arrives in
England.

26th.

* Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. p. 428. Miss Williams's Letters in 1793, vol. i. p. 67. Garat's Memoirs, p. 114.

† Dumouriez Unmasked, p. 87.

vacy, he returned to the continent, and landed at Ostend.

His writings.

Since that period he has obtained no notice, except as a literary character. He has produced some pamphlets, among the best of which is one intitled *Coup-d'Oeil politique sur l'Avenir de la France*. His great work, "The History of his own Life," is written with much eloquence, and considerable art; it is a laborious defence of very indirect and sinister conduct. The skill with which he displays the characters of others, compensates in a great measure for his want of truth, modesty, and sincerity with respect to his own. He has recently published a *Speculative Sketch of Europe*, in which he has displayed, as usual, a considerable share of information, a great versatility of principle, and an extraordinary temerity in hazarding predictions and suggesting expedients.

His retreat.

He now lives at or near Altona. His affectation of royalism has done him no service with those whom such a profession was intended to conciliate; and his own countrymen, in every revolution of public opinion, have contemned the man who relieved them from despair and certain subjugation, who first gave energy to their conduct, and insured the preponderancy of their military power.

Person and manners.

In person, Dumouriez is below the middle size, but perfectly well formed, robust, and capable of great exertion. His complexion is brown, his features animated, his eyes dark¹. He possesses a great share of eloquence and talent of persuasion, and writes better than he speaks². While he is delivering an impressive sentence, his head and arms are agitated, and he often rises on the point of his

¹ Dumouriez Unmasked, p. 98. Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 118. Residence in France, vol. i. p. 35.

² Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 69.

toe'. He has had the address to attach to himself many of the fair sex, though madame Roland was of opinion, that he was not calculated to succeed with those whom a tender intercourse might seduce'.

* Dumouriez Unmasked, p. 98.

* Appeal, vol. i. p. 69.

P. F. N. FABRE D'EGLANTINE.

His situa-
tion.

BEFORE the revolution d'Eglantine was a poet and player^u, and much in debt. His residence was a garret, and his whole property consisted in the shabby furniture of his apartment, which it was one of his singularities never afterwards to part with^x. He wrote a comedy in three acts, in verse, called *Le Collateral, ou l'Amour et l'Intérêt*, which was represented at the *Théâtre de Monsieur*, but was not successful. According to the criticism of M. de la Harpe, and the outline he has drawn of the plot, sentiments, and language, it did not deserve success^y.

26th May,
1789.

22d Feb.
1790.
His va-
rious
writings.

The revolution did not immediately confer on Fabre either wealth or distinction; he continued his literary labours, and produced another comedy called *Philinte*, which was also in verse, and in five acts. This piece, the principal character of which is taken from Moliere, and intended as a continuation of the *Misanthrope*, is much praised. La Harpe commends it as a judicious and spirited work. The plot is serious, and where the author has deviated from his model, he has done it with genius and judgment^z. His next production was a comedy in verse, in two acts, called *Le Convalescent de Qualité, ou l'Aristocrate*, in which, as may be expected from the title,

28th Jan.
1791.

^u Peltier's late Picture of Paris, vol. ii. p. 266.

^x Brissot à ses Commettans, p. 135. Tableau des Prisons sous Robespierre.

^y Mercure François Littéraire du 26 Mai 1791, p. 90.

^z Ibid. du 16 Juillet 1791, p. 90. See also Miss Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. ii. p. 26. Conspiracy of Robespierre, p. 99.

all the faults of the old government, all the prejudices and foibles resulting from the pride of birth, are virulently attacked^a. At the same time he produced another in five acts, called *L'Intrigue épistolaire*, which was much applauded, and had considerable success^b. Sept. 1791.

But the dramatic muse, however assiduously or successfully cultivated, was not able in the tumult of revolution to secure to her votary either fame or profit. Fabre had other qualities which promised to facilitate his progress in the paths of wealth and political renown. The spirit of intrigue which he displayed on the theatre, was his own characteristic in life^c. He was supple, dastardly, insinuating, cunning, laborious; he echoed the sentiments and flattered the passions of his superiors, careful in avoiding offence, and careful to obtain the esteem of all^d. With these requisites he commenced flatterer of the duke of Orleans, and attached himself personally to Danton. Danton introduced him to madame Roland's cabinet parties, and recommended him to conduct, jointly with Camille Desmoulins and Robert, a posted paper called *Compte rendu au Peuple Souverain*. This publication was commenced and carried on for a short time, but the parties having received the sum proposed, it was discontinued^e. His character.

Danton made him one of his secretaries; in which situation he is supposed to have acquired great riches previous to, and during the massacres of the prisoners. He was also one of the council-general of the commune^f, and among the first who divided with Danton, and joined Robespierre's party against ad Sept. 1793. Becomes suddenly rich.

^a *Mercuré François Littéraire* du 17 Septembre 1791, p. 89.

^b *Ibid.* p. 105.

^c Miss Williams's *Letters* in 1794, vol. ii. p. 26.

^d See St. Just's Report of 31st March 1794.

^e Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 86. 89.

^f See Peltier's late *Picture of Paris*, vol. ii. p. 81. 213. 482.

Roland.

Roland^g. He now lived in the *Rue du Théâtre Français* in a style of elegance and luxury, and acknowledged himself to be worth twelve thousand livres (525*l.*) a-year^h. As he possessed no visible means of attaining such a fortune, it was justly attributed to his having shared in the plunder of the murdered captives, or perhaps of the jewel-officeⁱ.

Member
of the con-
vention.

Having distinguished himself at the Jacobin club as a republican, and by his exertions against la Fayette^k, he was, by Danton's influence, elected member of the convention for Paris. During ten months he was not conspicuous. He voted with the rest of his party on the trial of the king, and recommended death in four-and-twenty hours^l. He was marked as a constant opponent of Roland^m; but does not appear to have assisted actively in the expulsion of the Brissotines. He was a member of the committee of public safety, and of the committee of public instruction. At the beginning of the war with England, he moved that an Address to the British nation, against their government, should be published; and that the persons and property of Englishmen residing in France, and submitting to the laws, should be defended and protected: but, in the same year, he proposed the measure of arresting all the English, and other subjects of the king of England, then in the Republicⁿ.

28 Feb.
1793.

9th Oct.

Projects in
finance.
28th Jan.

Fabre was ambitious to be esteemed a good œconomist and financier; he presented to the Convention a plan, of considerable length, for supplying the army with necessaries, and preventing frauds: it seems well adapted to a revolutionary government,

^g Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 93.

^h Brissot à ses Commettans, p. 135. Conspiracy of Robespierre, p. 228.

ⁱ Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 110.

^k Conspiracy of Robespierre, p. 45. Political State of Europe, vol. ii. p. 174.

^l Debates.

^m Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 239.

ⁿ Debates.

but

but totally inapplicable to a regular system*. He also ^{1st Aug.} made a report on the discredit of assignats; but it surpassed his talents to prevent that calamity†.

He was an active member of the club of Cordeliers‡, and shewed himself worthy of their esteem by joining earnestly in all their labours for the extirpation of religion. One principal effort towards this was the formation of a new calendar, of which ^{5th Oct.} d'Eglantine was the author, and which took place ^{Invents the new calendar.} from the 22d of September. The obvious aim of this invention was, by a new division of the year, by the abolition of weeks, by the alteration of months, and by giving new names to the days, to obliterate every trace of Sundays, Saints' days, holidays, and christian festivals. The year was divided into twelve equal months of thirty days, which were divided into decades, or periods of ten days; each of these months had a new name; some referring to the produce of the earth or course of agricultural employment; as *Vendimiaire*, for vintage; *Messidor*, for harvest; *Fructidor*, for fruit; *Floreal*, for flowers; others to the weather; as *Brumaire*, for fogs; *Nivose*, for snow, &c. Besides the name allotted to each day, denoting its ordinal station in the decade; as *Primidi*, *Duodi*, &c. each had another appellation, derived from the implements of husbandry, the produce of the earth, or the animal creation; as *Apple*, *Beet-root*, *Goose*, *Plough*, *Roller*. But as these twelve months only occupied three hundred and sixty days, the remaining five in the common year, and six in the leap year, were patched on at the end, and denominated *Sansculotides*! The tenth

* See his Speech at length. Robespierre à ses Commettans, vol. ii. p. 368.

† Debates.

‡ Louvet's Narrative, p. 63.

§ This national absurdity was not at first presented complete; the committee gave for numeral names of days *Primi*, *Bini*, *Trisi*, &c. but the galleries hissed this nursery nonsense, and the present gypsy jargon was adopted in its stead. See Debates, 18th Oct.

day,

day, or end of every decade, was considered a day of festival, and devoted to some of the virtues, relations, or accidents of life. This is the whole of that change which an English lady extols as "so *philosophical*, and so pleasant to the imagination, that, "amidst the sanguinary measures of those days, it "seemed to the oppressed heart what a solitary spot of "fresh verdure appears to the eye amidst the crag-giness of louring rocks, or the gloom of savage deserts." It is impossible to ascertain from what sources the oppressed heart may derive imaginary relief, but philosophy does not delight in vain shew or unnecessary alteration; it does not affect a singularity attended with no possible use, or invade the established forms of human life, without the pretence of amelioration, the promise of either pleasure or profit; it does not lend its aid to consecrate the prevailing folly of the day, at the expence of custom, much less of reason; it judges slowly, and avoids the levity of premature adoption; in a word, philosophy has nothing to do with *sansculotides*, *decades*, beet-roots, rollers, or geese¹.

Supposed
assistant
of Robespierre.

It has been asserted that Fabre materially assisted Robespierre in the composition of his speeches and writings; the same is said of Camille Desmoulins²; but these accounts must be received with caution. They are improbable, because the style of Desmoulins was extremely careless; and d'Eglantine required a judicious friend to reform his own diction: the works of Robespierre are superior in wit, sentiment, and language, to the writings of his supposed instructors. The style in which Fabre lived, and the open profligacy with which he sold his patronage³, may perhaps have given rise to this report; but it was

¹ Miss Williams. See her Letters in 1794, vol. i. p. 202.

² See Remarks on the Calendar in Pagès, vol. ii. p. 281. Suite de l'Etat de la France, p. 38.

³ Conspiracy of Robespierre, p. 99.

⁴ See Suite de l'Etat de la France, p. 70.

a part of Robespierre's prudence not to prevent speculation in his inferior agents, that he might, at pleasure, sacrifice them to his revenge or convenience. Fabre was, however, exposed to denunciations; Boileau accused him in the convention of having proposed the restoration of royalty; but the charge was evaded by the influence of his party¹. His style of living pointed him out to the malice of his brother Cordelier Hebert, who attacked him in his journal, called *Le Père Duchesne*, as an enriched patriot. This offence brought Hebert to the scaffold; but Fabre did not long triumph over his fallen adversary; soon after the execution of Hebert, he was himself arrested, together with Chabot and several others, and confined, first in the *Luxemburg*, afterwards in the *Conciergerie*². In prison he behaved with the most effeminate weakness; his health was impaired, and he gave way to unmanly lamentations. Pride prevented his making the loss of life the apparent topic of his regret; he therefore affected concern about a comedy in five acts, which had been seized and sent to the committee of public safety, and of which he was apprehensive that Billaud de Varennes would assume the credit³. At his trial he exhibited the same despondency; not even the heroism of Danton could animate him. In the cart he evinced the same feebleness of character, and died like a mock atheist, without courage to appeal to an offended Deity for mercy, without the frigid self-denial which a total disbelief of a first cause and future remuneration may impart.

1st April.
De-
nounced.

16th Mar.
1794.
Arrested.

5th April.
Tried and
executed.

¹ Debates.

² New Annual Register for 1794. p. 352, 354.

³ Memoires d'un Detenu, p. 76. Miss Williams's Letters, vol. ii. p. 27.

THOMAS MAHÉ, MARQUIS DE FAVRAS.

FAVRAS was the first victim of popular fury who fell by the misguided sword of the law, who was murdered with the formality of a trial^b. Soon after the revolution, the novelty of circumstances, and the extreme anxiety of public suspicion, gave rise to a new species of imputed crime, called *leze nation*, or treason against the nation; and numberless accusations and denunciations of plots and conspiracies were brought forward, implicating individuals in this undefined offence. The trial of such criminals not properly appertaining to the jurisdiction of any existing court, a new one became necessary, and the *Chatelet* was empowered to try offences of *leze nation*. Judges were appointed, and a committee of inquiry chosen from members of the assembly, to receive informations. Ample rewards were held out to informers, from one hundred to a thousand *Louis d'ors*. As the crime was not subjected to any precise or legal definition, and the characters or situations of the informers never inquired into, the prisons were filled with persons denounced on the depositions of spies, servants, waiters, soldiers, and the most worthless characters in society. Many were tried and acquitted, from the total want of evidence: but this did not satisfy the people; they were persuaded that there had

^b The principal facts in the following narrative are taken from the *Impartial History*, vol. i. p. 293 to 303. Pages, vol. i. p. 293 to 312. *Conjuration de d'Orleans*, vol. ii. p. 372 to 392.

really existed a conspiracy to carry off the king to Metz, and were anxious to see some nobleman executed as an accomplice in the plot.

M. de Favras, who is said to have been called marquis merely by courtesy, was captain of dragoons, and first-lieutenant of Swiss guards in the service of Monsieur, which he quitted in 1775. He married a princess of Anhalt Schaamburg; and being endowed by nature with an enterprising genius, undertook to raise a regiment for the party in Holland then in opposition to the Stadtholder; and to fulfil this plan, entered into a contract with a procurer of recruits, named Tourcaty; but the troubles in that country being suppressed by the interposition of the king of Prussia, the project was abandoned. He afterwards turned his attention to finance, and proposed a scheme for liquidating the national debt; but while this subject was under consideration, the disturbances taking place in Brabant, he exerted himself on behalf of the insurgents.

His situation in life.

1785.

In the course of the French revolution, he displayed a decided attachment to the royal interest: he resumed the white cockade, and was solicitous to obtain from the minister the means of repelling by force the assailants of the palace at Versailles. This disposition pointed him out to the rancour of the insurgents, and there is reason to believe that a most iniquitous subornation was employed against him.

His attachment to the king. 5th Oct. 1789.

Tourcaty, and another of the same profession named Morel, both men of infamous character, appeared before the committee of inquiry, and deposed that Favras had communicated to them a plan to effect a counter-revolution, and employed them to raise men for the purpose. His commu-

5th Dec. 1789. Arrested.

* Anecdotes du Règne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 444.

nication was stated to be, that there was at Versailles a corps of twelve hundred horse, who were to enter Paris in three divisions, to join a detachment of the Swiss guards, and of the king's guards, and many conspirators from the provinces, who were to be at Paris at the same time, to assassinate Necker, la Fayette, and Bailly, and carry off the king to Peronne, where twenty thousand troops would hoist the standard of counter-revolution. That Favras, under pretence of taking a part in the troubles of Brabant, was in treaty for twenty thousand Swiss, twelve thousand Germans, and twelve thousand Sardinian soldiers, who, joining the regiments which remained faithful to the king, and the recruits to be raised, would form an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, which should march to Paris and dissolve the national-assembly. All the fund he possessed to carry this extensive scheme into execution, according to the deposition of the accusers, was a hundred *Louis d'ors*, which he had borrowed from a nobleman. This ridiculous accusation, the authors of which deserved the pillory, was deemed a sufficient ground for the apprehension of the unfortunate marquis, who was the same day taken up and committed to the Abbaye, and from thence afterwards removed to the prison of the Chatelet.

Conduct
of Mon-
sieur.

Great pains were taken to implicate Monsieur in the charge; but on hearing the rumour, he went to the *Hotel-de-ville*, and declared to the commune that he had not even seen Favras since 1775, when he quitted the Swiss guards: he acknowledged, that the new order of things having impeded his receipts of money, and not choosing to apply to the public treasury, he was endeavouring to raise a sum of two millions of livres (87,500*l.*); that Favras had been recommended to him as a proper person to negotiate the supply; that he had accordingly entrusted the
affair

affair to his management, and understood he was in treaty with Chomel and Sertorius, bankers, for the money; but had not even seen him on the business. The candour and readiness of this explanation removed all suspicion from the prince, and ought to have operated in discrediting all testimony of the conspiracy; but that was not the case.

When Favras was put on his trial, a blood-thirsty mob endeavoured by clamour to influence the proceedings; but they were restrained by the exertions of la Fayette. It is not easy to represent a more interesting figure than that of the culprit thus arraigned. He had passed the brilliancy of youth, without having declined into the evening of his days; he was forty-six years old; his stature was exalted, his figure elegantly proportioned, and his physiognomy noble and prepossessing; he had large black eyes, an olive complexion, an aquiline nose; his hair was mixed with white, indicating the approach of age, but not yet absolutely grey: he was modest, reserved, and thoughtful, possessed a cultivated mind, and a great share of eloquence. He preserved the utmost calmness, firmness, and decorum, in the course of his defence. He represented, with the force of truth, the improbability that a man without rank, fortune, support, or popularity, with an army of two recruiters, and an exchequer of a hundred *Louis d'ors*, should become the leader of an insurrection. He cross-examined the two informers in a manner which exposed them to the most palpable contradictions. A fresh witness was called, Chomel the banker; who stated, that the prisoner had talked to him of a plan to assemble an army on the frontier of the Netherlands, under pretence of taking a part in the troubles, and with it to invade France, to restore the parliaments, and all the different branches of the old government. This evidence (admitting its truth, which is extremely doubtful)

9th Feb.
1790.
Trial of
Favras.

doubtful) amounted to no more than a conversation relating to a project which a speculative man might be supposed, in a time of free political discussion, to discuss on, without the least consideration of the means of executing it, and without even a wish or thought tending to its success. The prisoner denied the charge, and required leave to call exculpatory evidence, which was refused; in consequence of which he entered a forcible protest on the registers against this barbarous and unjust refusal. It is not pretended, even by democratic writers, that the evidence tendered was sufficient to warrant the condemnation of Favras^d; the apology for the judges must consign them to eternal infamy; they say the people required a victim, and the judges were forced to indulge their sanguinary disposition. Judges, born and educated in a land of freedom, or worthy to live in one, would have acted differently: "*Fiat justitia, ruat Cælum*," would have burst spontaneously from their hearts, and issued indignantly from their lips. The judges in his case however pronounced the sentence of death, and the *amende honorable*, an ignominious penance which precedes it.

Condemnation.

Fortitude. Those who were eye-witnesses of his conduct from the time of his condemnation to that of his execution, agree that greater firmness, vigour of mind, and genuine heroism were never displayed. He requested the assistance of the abbé Bossu, curate of Saint Paul's, to perform the last offices of religion, after which he came forth with serenity and dignified cheerfulness. At three o'clock in the morning on the day when his sentence was to be executed, he appeared dressed with care and a considerable share of elegance. A penitentiary shirt

19th Feb. Execution.

^d See Rabaud's History of the Revolution, p. 176. Impartial History, ubi supra. Pages, vol. ii. p. 335. where the author compares him to Socrates.

was, agreeably to the form of the *amende honorable*, put over his clothes : he was placed in a cart, his head and feet bare, a lighted torch by his side ; on his back and breast were placed labels, inscribed, *Conspirator against the state*. When he arrived at the church of Nôtre Dame, he took the order for his condemnation from the clerk, and reading it with an unaltered countenance, lifted up his eyes to heaven, protested his innocence, and prayed for his murderers. He was then conducted to the *Hotel de Ville*, where he dictated a long, energetic, and eloquent declaration of his innocence, and explanation of his conduct : he disclaimed every inclination to subvert the new order of things ; but professed his resolution to die faithful to the sentiment which had always animated him, *loyalty to his sovereign*.

At eight o'clock he recommenced his progress towards the place of execution. The streets were strongly guarded. The impression made by his dignified and heroic deportment is indescribable. A profound silence was generally observed, and the sufferer appeared more unconcerned than any of the spectators. When he arrived at the foot of the scaffold, the good abbé Bossu, in taking leave of his penitent, fainted in his arms : their parts were now reversed, the ghostly comforter gave way to the weakness of humanity, and received from the party condemned to death the consolations and encouragements drawn from the sacred stores of Revelation. When he was on the top of the ladder, he said with a loud voice ; " Citizens, I die innocent ; pray, pray for me to the God of mercy."—The whole multitude preserved an awful silence ; the executioner, melting into tears, seemed to forget his office, till Favras required him to do his duty, which he performed with manifest reluctance. After hanging the usual time, the body was delivered to his friends. The interest excited by his deportment, and the injustice of his sentence, gave

rife to an unfounded report that his life was saved by means of braces passed under his arms, which was often repeated in conversation and in print.

This murder, performed under colour of law, but in contempt of all sound rules of jurisprudence and reason, first opened the way for those neglects of the established forms of inculcation and evidence, which facilitated the mock trial of the king, and subjected the country to all the horrors of the revolutionary tribunal.

• History of the Brissotines by Camille Desmoulins, p. 65.

MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE.

THE family of la Fayette is of great antiquity in Family.
Auvergne, and has produced several eminent
men. It is traced back to the thirteenth century. The
family name was originally MOTIER, but the fourth
generation assumed the addition of la Fayette, which
was borne by all their descendants¹.

La Fayette was heir to a large estate, and in- Marries.
creased his property and influence by marrying a
lady of the illustrious house of Noailles². At an Serves in
America.
early period of his life, the American revolution
commenced, and he engaged as a volunteer in the
cause of the colonists. His conduct evinced so
much ardour, that it contributed greatly to inflame
the minds of the French, and induce the cabinet of
Versailles to enter into hostilities against England³.

At the termination of the war la Fayette returned Returns
to Paris.
to Paris⁴, with a great reputation, thoroughly im-
bued with revolutionary principles, and partial to
republican government. His speech to congress,
at taking his final departure, contained such expres-
sions, that de Vergennes would never consent to its
being inserted in the French gazette⁵. In Paris

¹ Dictionnaire de la Noblesse, par M. de la Chenaye Desbois.

² Impartial History, vol. i. p. 16.

³ Apologie des Projets, &c. p. 21.

⁴ As it is not my intention to touch on the American war, I have
omitted particularizing the exploits of la Fayette.

⁵ Pain's Rights of Man, Part I. p. 16. I have quoted Pain as an
authority in the life of la Fayette only. As Pain boasts of an inti-
mate acquaintance with him, I have considered his information as en-
titled to some credit in this single instance.

la Fayette kept an open house, which was frequented by all those who had served in America. His ample fortune insured the attendance of numerous sycophants, who flattered his vanity by the most exaggerated encomiums; and those who had contributed to the establishment of American independence, were animated by the rehearsal of their exploits and the discussion of their principles, to desire a change of circumstances in France, which might again call forth their exertions, and afford an opportunity of displaying the advantages they had derived from experience¹.

Member
of politi-
cal clubs.

When political clubs began to be formed in France, la Fayette was one of their most active supporters. He was a member of the society of *amis des noirs*^m, and continued so firmly attached to their cause, that, in the height of rebellion, the negroes made *vive la Fayette*, the burden of their favourite songⁿ. He was also a member of the regulating committee of a political lodge of Philalethes in Paris, together with Condorcet, Orleans, and many other persons afterwards conspicuous in the revolution^o.

1787.
Conduct
in the
notables.

In the assembly of notables, convoked by Calonne, la Fayette was one of the section over which the count d'Artois presided, and which the public distinguished by the name of *le comité des Francs*^p. As he was a violent partisan of Necker, he greatly increased his popularity by a spirited opposition to Calonne, and by reading a very strenuous memorial against the conduct of that minister^q. After the expulsion of Calonne, and dissolution of the nota-

¹ Apologie des Projets, &c. p. 22. The Conduct of France towards Great Britain examined, by Miles, p. 69.

^m Bryan Edwards's History of St. Domingo, p. 41.

ⁿ Mercure François, No. du 5 Novembre 1791.

^o Robison's Proofs of a Conspiracy, p. 403. Memoires du Jacobinisme, par Barruel, vol. ii. p. 447.

^p Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 77.

^q Idem, p. 89. Pain's Rights of Man, Part I. p. 96.

bles,

bles, la Fayette distinguished himself in Brittany by an opposition to de Brienne's project of a *cour plénière*, which induced the minister to discontinue his pension¹.

In the constituent assembly, la Fayette was distinguished by his opposition to the court, and by the sanction he gave to all measures which, by their revolutionary violence, were calculated to raise him in the estimation of the people. When the contest between the assembly and the court was at its greatest height, when the proceedings of the factious had induced the king to order a body of troops to Paris, and the assembly, swayed by intrigue, made strenuous exertions against the sovereign, la Fayette proposed his celebrated declaration of the rights of man. This composition, which Robespierre justly describes as a collection of two or three trite adages², was published with an exhortation to the people, of most inflammatory tendency, though couched in a style of affected philanthropy³. When the change of ministry was announced, la Fayette moved that the responsibility of the new ministers should be decreed; a measure obviously calculated to overawe the executive government: it was however complied with, and the archbishop of Vienne, then president of the assembly, being old and too infirm to bear the fatigue of a long sitting, la Fayette was appointed vice-president, which was the first nomination to that office⁴.

After the capture of the Bastille, a national guard of the citizens of Paris was formed. The command was at first given to the marquis de la Salle, who held it merely as a temporary trust, to be re-

1789.
In the
constituent
assembly.

11th July.
Rights of
man.

13th.
Vice-presi-
dent.

Formation
of national
guard.

¹ Conjuración de Orleans, vol. i. p. 146.

² Défenseur de la Constitution, p. 257. n.

³ Mrs. Wolfenraff's History of the Revolution, p. 174, &c. &c.
This declaration of rights is said to have excited envy in Mirabeau, though several others had been previously published.

⁴ Debates. Histories.

signed in favour of the duke of Orleans. After three days however, the duke not having testified any inclination to assume the important command reserved for him, a new general was recommended^x. La Fayette was then highly popular; a general prepossession in his favour had long subsisted, which was augmented by his recent conduct in the assembly. He was one of the members sent to Paris the day after the capture of the Bastille, to allay the popular ferment, and was, on the ensuing day, nominated commandant-general of the national guard. It is asserted, that an accident of a very trifling nature contributed as much as any other circumstance to occasion this appointment. The city standards, which had been seized by the mob on the 13th, were placed in the *Hotel de ville*, near the general's bust, to which they seemed to form a kind of trophy. One of his friends took advantage of the incident to propose him as commander^y. It is not easy to believe that so important a trust was delegated from so trivial a motive, and without any previous arrangement. La Fayette however accepted the post without hesitation: he drew his sword, and lowered the point in token of acquiescence and gratitude^z. The next day afforded him an opportunity of displaying the insolence of power newly acquired. The king made his inauspicious journey to Paris, and la Fayette prepared those insults which made his reception so mortifying and degrading, by preventing the *gardes du corps* from entering the city, and forbidding the national guard and the people to cry *Vive le roi*^a! His election was confirmed by the king^b.

^x See ORLEANS.

^y *Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI.* vol. vi. p. 409.

^z *Conjuration de d'Orleans*, vol. ii. p. 75. *Histoires.*

^a See *Memoirs of the THE KING*, &c. *Conjuration de d'Orleans*, vol. ii. p. 81.

^b *Impartial History*, vol. i. p. 144.

La Fayette soon experienced the pernicious effects of his own maxim, that *insurrection is the most sacred of duties*, by the disregard with which the mob treated him in the murder of Foulon^c, for whom he
Exerts himself to save Foulon.
inter-

* The fate of FOULON, and his son-in-law BERTHIER is thus related by the eloquent author of an Address to the Friends of the People. See p. 498. "An old man of the name of M. Foulon, a counsellor of state, was supposed to have been connected in some degree with the short-lived administration that succeeded to M. Necker. He had not been popular formerly, and this circumstance rendered him more obnoxious still. Nothing, however, could be found as a matter of charge against him in any of the late transactions; but it was at last remembered, for the purposes of democratic vengeance, that under the administration of the abbé Terray (the famous financier of Louis XV.) he had said, or been reported to say, that if the people would not be contented to eat bread at a certain price, they ought to have nothing but hay given them. From this it was inferred, that had he obtained power now, he would have reduced the people to this diet, and his death was therefore decreed. Warned of his danger the poor old man had fled; concealing himself in a friend's house at a small distance from Paris. He was traced by their blood hounds, and soon discovered and seized. He was conducted to Paris by the mob, loaded with sacks of hay, an emblem of his accusation and of his punishment. Having led him to the *Hotel de Ville*, where judges were to be immediately appointed for his trial, an immense crowd was in the mean time gathered around the *Place de Greve*. It was continually increasing; and in a short time they loudly demanded that Foulon should instantly be delivered over to them for execution. The *electors* of Paris came to the multitude. They dared not to defend the innocent old man; but they besought the people to allow him to be fairly tried. They spoke to the winds. Then M. Bailly came. He was now from president of the national assembly become mayor of Paris. His eloquence and authority were now employed equally in vain. In the mean time their victim heard the savage cries of his enemies; those howlings of murder more dreadful than death. He was serene and calm. One of his guards said, "You are not moved, Sir; surely you are innocent."—"Guilty only," he replied, "can be disconcerted." At five in the afternoon, the committee of the city election thought the people might be prevailed on (says the historian whom I copy) to allow him to be carried to the prison of the *Abbaye*. A detachment of the city militia was ordered for this purpose. M. de la Fayette now arrived. Even he durst not use his authority; even in the beginnings of his inglorious generalship he knew and felt he had no power; but besides using intreaties, he employed the artifice or the brutality of telling the people, that many secrets regarding the machinations of the court might be discovered by detaining M. Foulon prisoner instead of instantly murdering him; thus feeding their savageness by the hopes of further victims, and giving truth to those horrid calumnies which were made the causes of crime. The old man (it was said) gave
"marks

interceded and exerted himself in vain. He felt so much indignation on the subject that he threatened

“ marks of satisfaction at the mention of being committed to the Ab-
 “ baye. ‘ He will escape us!’ cried the people, in the presence of
 “ all their magistrates, of their mayor, of the general of the new forces
 “ of France; they raise a shout of fury, break through the guards,
 “ rush into the town-house, drag the old man to the *lanterns*, which
 “ had already been the instrument of so many murders. The cord
 “ broke; another was instantly found. His head was then severed
 “ from his body, and fixed on a pike. It was carried in procession
 “ with an handful of straw thrust into his mouth. His body was
 “ dragged through all the streets, and suffered every indignity.
 “ Bailly and la Fayette saw this scene of horror, and continued to be
 “ called mayor of Paris and general of the Parisian army.—

“ The intendant of Paris, M. Berthier, was married to this old
 “ man’s daughter. He also had been obliged to quit Paris; though
 “ wholly guiltless of any act of oppression or wrong; so much guilt-
 “ less, that to stir the minds of the people, an accusation (at whose
 “ absurdity laughter in other circumstances could not have been re-
 “ strained) was made against him, of having ordered the corn to be
 “ cut down when green! He was arrested at Compiègne. An *elector*
 “ of the city of Paris was sent to bring him thither. On the road he
 “ was frequently compelled to come out of the carriage and shew
 “ himself to the people, who insulted him as he went along. When
 “ he entered Paris, the top of the carriage was taken off that he might
 “ be fully exposed to the view of the mob, who loaded him with
 “ execrations and outrages. A numerous guard attended him, ac-
 “ companied with military music, drums, colours, every thing that could
 “ mark a triumph. The procession was witnessed by all Paris; every
 “ door, window, and balcony was filled. M. Berthier still maintained
 “ the utmost serenity; tranquillity was painted on his countenance.
 “ But the procession had advanced only a little way, when the mangled
 “ and bloody head of his father-in-law was presented to him fixed on
 “ a pike. They had just come from his murder. After this infernal
 “ act, he was led to the tribunal; the seat of equity, (the historian
 “ calls it,) and the asylum of innocence so fatal to guilt. He
 “ answered with manliness the questions put to him. They had his
 “ papers, he said, and these papers never at any time afterwards dis-
 “ closed any crime. He then mentioned that he had not for two days
 “ shut his eyes, and requested that he might be allowed some place
 “ for a little repose. Immediately arose the shouts of death. The
 “ judges spoke of committing him prisoner to the Abbaye. He
 “ consented. M. Bailly harangued the people; he tells them that the
 “ prisoner cannot be convicted but by new facts, and that the utmost
 “ which could be done was to imprison him for trial. This was most
 “ glaring injustice and oppression; and for which M. Bailly in a
 “ free government must have answered, in legal judgment, by his
 “ person and fortune. When he had done speaking, the people replied
 “ to him with their yells. The prisoner was led out. Thousands
 “ press around him, and in a moment he is dead. One of his mur-
 “ ders

ened to resign, but was easily persuaded to retain his command^d.

La Fayette had now acquired an importance far exceeding his merits, or those pretensions which ordinary circumstances would have enabled him to advance. His sudden elevation inflamed his vanity to a dangerous pitch. At the head of a revolutionary rabble, he considered himself at the summit of glory; the leader of sophists, he deemed himself a philosopher; and the acclamation of the lowest populace led him to fancy himself a second Washington^e. The character of Washington was a favourite object of his imitation; but he was not qualified to succeed in forming a parallel^f. He is represented as a man of inordinate ambition, without either genius or energy; capable of meditating the profoundest crimes, yet desirous of preserving an appearance of probity^g; affecting extraordinary subtilty, yet deficient in experience and understanding^h. Ever inferior to the projects he had formed; tremulous and hesitatingⁱ; a man of half character and half talents, in whom the timid circumspection of uncertainty was taken for modesty; whose art consisted in obtaining credit for more abilities than he possessed, and in taking advantage of circumstances which he could not command^k. He is allowed to

Charac-
of la Fay-
ette.

" deers thrust in his hand and tore out his palpitating heart. It was
" a civic soldier. This heart, still warm and beating, was carried to
" the tribunal and presented to his judges. It was then fixed on the
" point of a dagger; while the body was dragged and dashed to
" pieces on the pavement, pierced through and through with pikes.
" At last, in a tavern, his flesh and heart minced into morsels was
" steeped in their wine and greedily devoured. This happened in the
" Rue St. Honoré."

^d Historical Sketch, p. 191.

^e Memoires du Jacobinisme, par Barruel, vol. ii. p. 449.

^f Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 164. Life of Dumouriez, vol. ii. p. 25.

^g Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 104. 127.

^h Life of Dumouriez, vol. ii. p. 86.

ⁱ Apologie des Projets, &c. p. 186.

^k Mercure François, No. du 31 Août 1793.

possess

possess virtue, knowledge, and coolness¹; but his principal errors originated from a want of fixed principles, an over-weening ambition, and presumptuous vanity, which, in the day of his prosperity and popularity, was carried to such an excess, that he was heard to observe, "I have made one revolution in America; when I have finished this in France, I will go and make a third at Rome".

Hated by
Orleans.

Though Orleans had connived at, and even consented to the nomination of la Fayette to be commandant of the national guard, yet, after his appointment, the duke speedily conceived a disgust against him, which afterwards amounted to the most rancorous antipathy. La Fayette was a strenuous partisan of Necker, whom he had received at his return to Paris with a degree of warmth highly displeasing to Orleans. The pains taken by la Fayette to organize the national guard, so as to prevent, in a certain degree, future insurrections and murders, thwarted the views of the duke; and his satellites were employed to destroy his popularity, and render him contemptible. Marat commenced a virulent attack in his Journal, which inflamed the choler of *the hero of the two worlds* to such a pitch, that he marched an army of six thousand men against this contemptible adversary. They blockaded all the avenues in the neighbourhood of Marat's dwelling, by pointing cannon down the streets; but Danton took the little incendiary under his protection, and

¹ Life of Dumouriez, vol. ii. p. 86. La Fayette's knowledge and coolness may be much better appreciated by such a judge as Dumouriez, than his virtue. His claim to eulogium on that score is, at least, doubtful.

^m Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 64.

ⁿ Idem, vol. ii. p. 75.

^o Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 86. Histories. The Club of female politicians, of which Necker's daughter and la Fayette's wife were leading members, contributed to cement this attachment; Necker still speaks in the highest terms of his friend. See *On the Revolution*, vol. i. p. 358. n.

exerted

exerted himself with such effect, that la Fayette was compelled to relinquish further proceedings^p. About the same time, Saint Huruge, instigated by Orleans, made daily harangues against la Fayette in the garden of the Palais Royal. To repress these exertions, the general had recourse to the following expedient: One evening at six o'clock, armed detachments of the national guard entered at all the doors of the garden, and rushed forward to disperse every group in which there was an orator. The awkwardness of their evolutions excited shouts of derision; their confusion increased, till at length, on the motion of one of the orators, a general hiss prevailed. After much difficulty the military party succeeded in taking St. Huruge and a baron Tinot prisoners; but the mob soon obtained their release^q.

The prevalence of the Orleans' faction became so decided and obvious, that apprehensions were entertained that la Fayette would be sacrificed in the insurrection of the 5th of October. When the mob of *Poissurdes*, headed by Maillard, were departed for Versailles, the Parisian armed force assembled on the *Place de la Greve*. The *ci-devant gardes Françaises*, who were all incorporated with the national guard, and still retained their mutinous dispositions, and obedience to the agents of Orleans, insisted the *commune* should meet, and the armed force proceed to Versailles. La Fayette, as his duty required, sent off dispatches to the ministers, informing them of the critical state of affairs. While he was thus occupied, a deputation of grenadiers entered, and told him, in a set speech, obviously dictated for the purpose, "That the government were traitors to the country; that they would, in no case, use their bayonets against women, who merely went to ask for bread; and that if the king was incapable of

5th and
6th OR.
La Fayette's danger and conduct.

^p See MARAT and DANTON.

^q Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 153.

" bearing

“bearing the burden of monarchy, they would depose him, crown his son, and name a council of regency.” They also expressed a resolution to destroy the *regiment de Flandres*, and the *gardes-du-corps*, who had disgraced the national cockade. La Fayette attempted to expostulate, but in vain. The party were determined; the orator had made his speech, and they would not risk a diminution of its effect. To the general’s remonstrances they returned short answers, that they were ready to shed their blood for *him*, as they believed he was not a traitor; but that the people were wretched, and insisted that the king should be brought to Paris; that such was the will of the people, and it must be obeyed. The general, observing that his eloquence had no effect on this deputation, harangued the body of the military, but with no better success; they would not hear him; his voice was drowned in reiterated cries of *Bread! bread! To Versailles! To Versailles!* The same reception awaited Bailly, who joined his efforts to those of la Fayette. Driven to this extremity, the general at length said he would lead the armed force to Versailles, if the committee of the commune would give orders for that purpose. Their deliberation on the subject was long; and the people began to think their own sovereignty slighted. An innumerable mob rushed from the suburbs, and mingled with the cries of Bread, and to Versailles, menacing exclamations against the general, who then became sensible of the dangers of his situation, as well as of those which threatened the government. At length the order of the commune arrived; he gave the word of command to march; and at about five o’clock in the afternoon this motley band, consisting of eight hundred foot, armed with guns and pikes, three companies of grenadiers, and one of fusileers, with three field-pieces, and national guards, and a collection of vagabonds from the dregs of the suburbs,

urbs, to the number of twenty thousand, rushed forwards for Versailles.

On their arrival near Montrouil, la Fayette, hoping that, at a distance from the capital, his influence would be less counteracted, ordered that the troops should take an oath to respect the habitation of the king. It is probable, however, that this oath met with some resistance, as it was not generally taken; and to some of the battalions was not even mentioned.

La Fayette and his army arrived at Versailles a little before midnight. The assembly had adjourned, but were summoned to return to their hall. The mob, notwithstanding the incessant rain, had never desisted from attacking the *gardes-du-corps*. The soldiers who came with la Fayette manifested the most sanguinary dispositions, swearing that they would kill the queen, depose the king, and make the duke of Orleans regent, for he would give them bread. La Fayette waited on the king, with whom he had a long conference; at the end of which he came out, apparently well satisfied, and told several of the *gardes-du-corps* that every thing was settled; that the *çi-devant gardes Françaises* were to take their place, and they were to assume the national cockade on the morrow. The *gardes Françaises*, in fact, immediately took possession of all the posts of the palace, and drew up in the *Cour des Ministres*. At the time la Fayette left the king, he told him that these arrangements being made, every thing would remain quiet; he added, that to convince the army from Paris that no suspicion was entertained of their conduct, the *gardes-du-corps* should retire, and every one in the palace go peaceably to rest: he solemnly engaged that he had taken such measures as would effectually preserve the public peace. From the palace, la Fayette went to the national assembly, where he advised the president to adjourn the sitting, repeating the assurances he had made.

made to the king. Mounier believed him; and the assembly adjourned. The rest of the soldiery, not immediately employed in the protection of the palace, dispersed themselves in the coffee-houses, the public buildings, or wherever they could obtain rest and shelter. The general having been his rounds, and seen all things quiet, retired also to rest.

It is not possible to pass over these acts of la Fayette without animadversion. That he should leave the royal family at night, under the protection of those soldiers who had shewn so strong a propensity to mutiny in the morning, is surprising; but this may, in some measure, be accounted for by allowing for his vanity, suggesting that his personal influence had overcome their evil dispositions, and the confidence he placed in the renewed oath of loyalty which he induced them to take as soon as they entered Versailles. His advising the adjournment of the assembly was a great error, as it afforded the conspirators, in the interest of Orleans, an opportunity of re-arranging their plans of sedition, and providing for the execution of them. But what defence can be made for him, the general of such an army, retiring quietly to rest on such a night! No appearance of tranquillity; no faith in oaths is sufficient to apologise or even account for it.—The reasons of his conduct are thus given: The conspirators had dispersed themselves, immediately after the rising of the assembly, some amongst the soldiers and people, whom they inflamed by the most atrocious untruths against the royal family. Some went to the coffee-houses, whither the national guard had retired, and performed the same task, plying them well with liquor. A third party formed a council with the duke, where it was agreed to murder the king and queen, la Fayette, and d'Estaing, commandant of the national guard at Versailles. This arrangement was communicated to those who were to put it in execution; but as
these

these were many in number, and some of them intoxicated, la Fayette heard it mentioned as he was going his rounds. Sensible that in such a crisis he could do nothing to prevent the catastrophe intended, he went to the hotel of the prince de Poix, and pretended to retire to sleep.

Whatever errors or crimes may be imputed to la Fayette, it is not easy to suppose him guilty of a weakness so inexcusable as that of abandoning his duty merely to indulge a momentary self-gratification. He would not, for that, have encountered the laconic but expressive reproach of the king; "Sir, in your place I would not have slept;" nor incurred the nick-name of General Morpheus'. It is hardly to be supposed that la Fayette could sleep during the confusion which prevailed throughout Versailles; or that he should wake and exert himself at a moment so critical as he did. While the uproar in the palace was at the highest, and the slaughter of the *gardes-du-corps* was proceeding, he was in bed; but when the heroic behaviour of the *gardes-du-corps* had made so favourable an impression on the *ci-devant gardes Français* as to incline them to mercy, then, at eleven o'clock, la Fayette appeared on his white charger, assisted in rescuing the intended victims, and restoring order. Yet he could not prevent the insults which the king sustained from the mob during his journey to Paris; or the disgraceful spectacle of the heads of two *gardes-du-corps* carried on pikes, which formed part of the

* Pages, vol. i. p. 257. 483. The observation of the princess Elizabeth on the same subject was no less pointed. La Fayette lamented the departure of the king's aunts, and when the princess justified them by alleging that there was no other way of insuring their safety, la Fayette said, "I would have been responsible for them." "Perhaps so," replied the princess, "but who would have been responsible for you; who knows but you might have had a *sleepy fit*." Dernier's Regicides.

procession, and during two days disgraced the capital¹.

Compels
Orleans
to quit
France.

La Fayette, though invested with the important command of the national guard, now found the Orleans' party much superior to him in influence. He possessed so little energy of character, that he dared not risk a contest with the duke, but entertained thoughts of terrifying or bribing him. He was, however, prevailed on not to attempt either of these measures; but, by a direct application, to compel his rival to quit the country. This he speedily effected².

La Fayette's influence.

The advantage thus acquired, the custody of the king's person, the command of the militia, together with his influence in the army and in the provinces, rendered la Fayette sovereign of Paris, and enabled him to dispose of the assembly as he thought proper³. He strengthened his power by obtaining from the legislature a decree establishing a martial law, in some measure similar to the Riot Act in England. The signal under which the troops were to act in repelling sedition, was the display of a red flag. La Fayette, as soon as the decree was passed, made haste to exhibit a red flag at the windows of the *Hotel de Ville*, with the ostentatious delight of a child who has obtained a new toy⁴.

Martial
law.

La Fayette's plan of government.

Although armed with powers so extensive, la Fayette was not capable of forming projects of proportionate magnitude, or of giving such a bias to the revolution as would have rendered it useful to the people, without detriment to the existing government. His favourite plan was the establishment

¹ See THE KING, &c. ORLEANS. Histories. Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 424. 432. Moore's View, vol. i. p. 442. vol. ii. p. 15 to 21. Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 195 to 235. 263. 271. 278.

² Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 114. See ORLEANS.

³ Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 98.

⁴ Histories. Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 339. 343.

of a democratical monarchy, with two houses of legislature; but his notions were so confused and indeterminate, that many persons considered him a decided republican, and expressed surprise when he afterwards declared his attachment to royalty^y. This opinion was rendered more probable by his brutal treatment of the king and queen, and by his unceasing persecution of the royalists, while, from want of vigour or want of discernment, he used no exertions against his more formidable opponents, the Jacobins; but, on the contrary, used every effort to suppress the clubs which were formed to counteract the influence of that society^z. La Fayette was one of the most strenuous promoters of the king's visit to the assembly, when he made that imprudent declaration of his desire to promote the revolution, which disconcerted all the views of his faithful adherents^a.

4th Feb.
1790.

During the absence of Orleans, la Fayette made so little use of the advantages with which he was invested by his situation, that no meritorious or conspicuous action stands recorded, except his exertions to assist Bailly in supplying the capital with bread, and his efforts to introduce discipline and order among the national guards. In this point he was actuated rather by ambitious than by patriotic motives, as he affected to attach the soldiers under him to his own person, and for that reason preferred the Bourgeoisie to the regular military^b.

His weakness.

But if la Fayette had ever digested a serious project either of private ambition or public utility, it was frustrated by his own levity and inconsiderateness. He knew and appreciated the superior in-

His conduct towards Orleans.

^y Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 127. Brissot à ses Commettans, p. 173. Louvet's Narrative, p. 6. Appel à l'Impartiale Postérité, vol. ii, p. 59.

^z Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 232. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 8.

^a See THE KING, &c. Arthur Young's Travels, p. 275.

^b Arthur Young's Travels, p. 272.

6th July.

Federation.

fluence of Orleans, and had even exceeded the bounds which his own hesitative prudence prescribed in enforcing his departure from France, yet, in conjunction with Bailly, he invented that absurd festival which afforded the duke an opportunity of returning to Paris. When la Fayette was apprised of the duke's intention, he acted in a manner which displayed want of judgment and energy. He sent one of his own *aides-de-camp*, named Boinville, to London, with a commission to engage the French ambassador to insist that Orleans should not return to France. The duke had sagacity enough to discern the advantage he might derive from this imprudent measure; and having prevailed on the ambassador and Boinville to commit their requisition to writing, and sign it, made immediate application to the assembly to sanction his return^c. La Fayette did not oppose the motion, but entered into a brief and unsatisfactory explanation of the reasons which induced him to enforce the duke's absence, reasons which, he said, still existed, though he entertained no apprehensions for the public safety^d.

While the ceremony was in preparation, la Fayette set an example of violence and puerility highly indecorous and disgraceful. He was a strenuous advocate for the abolition of nobility, and the suppression of all titles and distinctions^e. He sanctioned all the outrages committed by the mob, who broke into the monasteries and convents, and compelled the monks and nuns to abandon the retreats in which they had sworn to seclude themselves, in

^c Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 51. See ORLEANS.

^d Debates. Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 55. Impartial History, vol. i. p. 353. Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 155.

^e See Debates. Impartial History, vol. i. p. 347. Historical Sketch, p. 283. It is a remarkable fact that none of the advocates for the abolition of titles abandoned their own *noms de terre* to resume their family appellation. La Fayette never called himself *Motier*. Condorcet never took on himself the name *Caritat*, nor did Mirabeau assume that of *Riquetti*, or *Arrigbette* which had belonged to his ancestors.

order

order to work in the *Champ de Mars*. He was a tranquil spectator, or rather active promoter, of the licentious proceedings of the populace; and joined them in the famous song, *Ca Ira*, where he was most ridiculously flattered, and where all aristocrats were sentenced *à la lanterne*^f. One of la Fayette's views in promoting the confederation was probably the hope that he should be enabled by intriguing among the *fidérés* to increase his popularity in the provinces: but in this he was totally mistaken; they came to Paris replete with loyalty, and nothing could induce them to swerve from those sentiments.

On the day of the ceremony, la Fayette was *pro tempore* high constable of all the armed men in the kingdom^g. His popularity was at its greatest height; *Vive la Fayette!* resounded from every tongue; and his picture was placed near the statue of Henry IV. the idol of the people^h.

From that day however his popularity was doomed to decline. Orleans, immediately on his return, commenced an active and powerful attack; and the Lameths, desirous to make la Fayette resign the command of the national guard, united themselves with the Jacobins, and became his strenuous opposersⁱ.

Under these circumstances la Fayette displayed neither vigour of mind or extensive resources. He affected to oppose his own popularity to the

La Fayette's popularity.

Opposition to him.

His conduct towards the king.

^f See Conjunction de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 67. An instance of his culpable acquiescence with the mob is thus related by Montjoye: "I remember, one evening, all the butchers' boys, with their shirt sleeves tucked up, and their arms stained with blood, entered the *Champ de Mars*. One of them carried on a long stick, a scroll with these words, written in large characters, *Here are the butchers' boys; tremble aristocrats!* At sight of this scroll, la Fayette, instead of compelling these blood-thirsty people to retire, smiled, applauded, and vociferated the song *Ca Ira*." Conjunction de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 68.

^g Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 164.

^h Miss Williams's Letters in 1790. See BAILLY.

ⁱ Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 174. 236. 246.

efforts of his adversaries ; and, in order to increase it, behaved to the royal family with the most wanton brutality, assuming, with the office, the manners of a jailor. Yet he was so mean and so treacherous as to draw from the civil list large sums, under pretence of procuring the king some partisans, instead of which, he distributed the money among the public writers, rather with a view of engaging them to support his own cause than that of his sovereign *. If as a soldier, a nobleman, and a subject, he can stand excused for his total want of loyalty and attachment to the king ; yet as a politician, or leader of a party, he must be for ever contemptible for his extreme weakness in not raising up or maintaining a counteracting power sufficiently strong to resist the Orleans' faction, which was decidedly adversarious to himself.

28th Feb.
1791.
Affair
at Vincennes.

The first public trial of strength between Orleans and la Fayette was on the day when Santerre, at the head of a Parisian mob, went to destroy the castle of Vincennes. The leaders of faction had excited dreadful alarms, as well respecting the state of Paris, as the situation of the royal family, whom they described as being exposed to imminent danger. Santerre, at the head of a numerous rabble collected from the *fauxbourgs*, repaired to the castle of Vincennes, which they began to demolish, under pretence that it was intended as a new Bastille. La Fayette, at the head of the national guard, proceeded to disperse the rioters ; which, after some difficulty and opposition, he accomplished. While la Fayette was employed on this expedition, another mob was collected, who ran to the Tuilleries, uttering violent threats against the royal family. Four hundred gentlemen, armed with pistols and swords, assembled in the palace, and determined to prevent a renewal of the scenes of the 5th and 6th of Oc-

Treatment
of the
royalists.

* Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 250. 256.

tober,

tober, at the risk of their lives. The populace exclaimed that a band of traitors was concealed, who intended to massacre the people; and they persevered in their clamours and threats, till some officers of the national guard, and even the king himself, entreated them to lay down the arms which an ill-judging zeal had induced them to assume. When they were performing this act of submission, they were exposed to innumerable insults from the national guard, who brutally thrust them down stairs, and delivered them to the mob, who loaded them with injuries and insults. La Fayette, returning from Vincennes, proud of his conquest over Santerre, heard the rabble reviling these unfortunate men, and saw them treated with every indignity, not only without interfering in their favour, but he encouraged the proceedings by an apparent gaiety, and by singing *ça ira*. When he entered the palace, and saw the arms which the royalists had resigned, he swore with great violence that such an event should not again occur. A person who was present remonstrated, that these brave men, considering the king's life in danger, had determined to make a rampart of their bodies around his person. "What!" exclaimed la Fayette, "the king in danger in the midst of the national guard!—A constitutional king can only be defended by the soldiers of liberty!" It is probable that, besides his antipathy to the royalists, la Fayette was influenced on this occasion by the fear of exasperating the populace; and was desirous, by countenancing disorder, encouraging insurrection, and flattering the mob, to repair the injury his popularity might have sustained from his conduct at Vincennes. If such were his motives, he displayed a base and dishonest mind; but if he was weak enough to think

¹ Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 220. Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 115. Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 468.

the king safe under the protection of a body of national guards whom he himself could not control, he must have been destitute of even a common share of sagacity.

28th Apr.
King prevented
going to
St. Cloud.

La Fayette
resigns.

A short time after this transaction, la Fayette had another proof of the little reliance which could be placed on the loyalty or affection of the national guard. Actuated by shame, repugnance, or some other motive, he had persuaded the king to go to St. Cloud; when the royal family were seated in their carriages, the mob would not permit them to proceed; and la Fayette, having in vain endeavoured to influence the national guard to restrain the licentiousness of the rabble, was obliged to submit to the disgrace of being scorned and disobeyed by his own soldiers^m. The conduct of the mob was applauded in the journals and in patriotic publications, and la Fayette mentioned with censure and contemptⁿ. He felt so much indignation at this unexpected desertion of his soldiers, that he gave in his resignation. The Orleans' faction were not prepared to take advantage of this measure, but permitted the national guard to follow the impulse of their own feelings, or the suggestions of la Fayette's friends. All the battalions assembled, and appointed deputations to the general, to express sorrow for their conduct, and promise obedience in future. These deputations filled his hotel, and crowded the street where he resided. The municipality and the department also joined in entreating him to resume the command. La Fayette expressed a proper sense of the honor, but declined giving his answer till the next day. At ten o'clock he went to the hall of the *commune*, where he was met by the council-general, and by deputies from

^m See Memoirs of THE KING, &c.

ⁿ See Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 243. Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 472.

all the battalions. He made a speech, distinguished for a display of self-denial, and for the earnestness with which he recommended subordination, but concluded by declining the command. The following day the battalions assembled, and made a declaration expressive of their submission to the law and zeal for the constitution, and of their resolution to obey the commander in chief; but no mention was made of la Fayette. Whether this mode of conduct had been previously concerted, to afford the general an unexceptionable opportunity of retracting his resignation, or whether his friends, now become apprehensive that the solicitude of the national guard was nearly exhausted, is not certain. Bailly however made haste to authenticate this declaration, and procured a deputation of eight members of the *commune*, whom he accompanied in person, to wait on the general, and persuade him that his refusal to resume the command would endanger the state, and that the greatest proof of patriotism he could give would be to waive the resolution he had formed. Thus importuned, la Fayette at length yielded. He insisted that the national guard should go in a body to the king, renew their oath of allegiance, and profess sorrow for what had passed. These empty declarations were made with great pomp and affectation; but the general adopted no measure to alleviate the king's captivity, or to procure for him the indulgence of visiting St. Cloud. La Fayette's conduct was influenced by selfish views of personal aggrandizement, without the smallest regard for the welfare of the royal family. He afterwards ventured to break the company of national guards which had refused to obey his command; but they were all, except fourteen, received into a new-formed company raised in its stead; and a new constitutional oath was, by his direction, administered to all the national guards. The fourteen men who had been dismissed were represented by

Resumes
the com-
mand.

the Orleanists as martyrs in the cause of liberty, extolled by the Jacobins, and feasted by the Cordeliers, while la Fayette was execrated and threatened in both societies: his new oath was decried as unconstitutional and illegal, and declared void. Du-bois de Crancé wrote a pamphlet on the occasion, in which he asserted that the national guard owed only a reasonable and limited obedience to their general, and that to expel any of them for refusing to take the oath required, was an arbitrary and despotic proceeding^o.

Conduct
respecting
the king's
flight ex-
amined.

The conduct of la Fayette with respect to the king's flight has given rise to much conjecture, and has been represented in various lights. Some authors have asserted, and it was for a time confidently believed, that the royal family had imparted their intention to la Fayette; that he connived at their escape, and afterwards betrayed, arrested, and imprisoned them. Others say that he was not entrusted with their design, but penetrated it by other means, and after permitting them to enjoy for a moment the illusion of liberty, caused them to be pursued and retaken, in order to enhance his own sagacity, and to acquire an additional claim on the public regard^p. I have, from the facts presented in the various narratives of this event, adopted the latter opinion; and shall avoid discussing the abstract question, by relating those facts, and occasionally shewing their application. But although I have formed my judgment from these impressions, I am far from considering the result of my examination as absolutely certain: on all such occasions, the mind is left to choose among a variety of conjectural deductions, and the most specious probabilities may lead to an erroneous conclusion.

^o See Impartial History, vol. i. p. 407. Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 290. 298. Mercure François, No. du 7 Mai 1791.

^p See Playfair's History of Jacobinism, p. 315. and the various authorities hereafter cited.

The ill usage the king had sustained, and which was daily increasing, had induced him to resolve on the measure of retiring with his family to a fortified frontier town. This plan was arranged with the marquis de Bouillé, by means of confidential messengers, and letters written in cypher^q. That la Fayette was never entrusted with this important secret, appears obvious from the queen's declaration on her trial^r, and from Bailly's address to his fellow-citizens, in which he positively denies that any such communication had been made^s. It also appears from a private paper preserved by Dr. Moore, that the king, while the arrangements were making for his flight, had been expressly and forcibly cautioned not to trust la Fayette, and the king was too timid and cautious to slight such an admonition^t. His cruelty towards the royal family had so disgusted the king, that he even withdrew great part of the money he had been used to allow from the civil list, and with which la Fayette had bribed the journalists^u. Yet there is reason to suppose that la Fayette was by some means apprized of the king's design, and appeared to connive at it from motives of base artifice alone. He wrote a letter to Bouillé, in which he plainly indicated a suspicion amounting almost to a certain knowledge of the project, and at the same time a rooted hatred for the royalists, accompanied with a total disregard of the Orleans' faction, which proved his self-sufficiency no less than want of foresight^x. The means by which he obtained his knowledge are differently described. On one hand it is said, that it was disclosed to him by one of the female attendants in the palace, who was

7th Feb.
1791.

^q See Bouillé's Memoirs, *passim*.

^r See Jordan's Political State of Europe, vol. v. p. 154. Hebert in his evidence attempted to prove the contrary, but little credit can be given to the assertions of so worthless a wretch. P. 162.

^s See APPENDIX, No. IV.

^t See Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 317.

^u Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 319.

^x *Idem*. p. 282.

devoted

devoted to his interest, and who served him so faithfully that he was even furnished with a pattern of the gown intended to be worn by the queen on the occasion^y. This account is not improbable, considering that the king and queen were constantly surrounded with spies, who observed their conduct with the most pertinacious vigilance. Or la Fayette might have learned the secret either from the confidence or indiscretion of Mirabeau, with whom he had an interview a short time before his death. Mirabeau had been bought over to the king's interest, and perhaps wished to strengthen himself against the efforts of Orleans by an alliance with la Fayette, which would have been truly beneficial to both king and constitution^z.

The rumour of the king's projected escape was so general, and obtained so much credit, that la Fayette could not pretend ignorance; on the contrary, at the representation of Gouvion, he doubled the guard; and took such other precautions as he judged necessary to frustrate the plan^a. This measure was less solid than specious; for if he had determined to permit the king's escape, it must also be concluded that he knew the exact road he intended to take; that he had decided the precise place where he should be arrested; and had even corrupted the troops placed by Bouillé to protect the royal travellers. La Fayette, in doubling the guard, and at the same time entrusting the command to Gouvion, his intimate and confidential friend, only insured the success of his own projects. On the night of the king's departure, the general had an interview with the royal family; he dissimulated his suspicions; but after his departure, the princess Elizabeth said to her august relatives, "We are certainly betrayed; " la Fayette at his departure looked and smiled in

^y See *Conjuration de d'Orleans*, v. l. iii. p. 122.

^z Bouillé's *Memoirs*, p. 297.

^a *Impartial History*, vol. i. p. 417

"such a manner as convinces me he knows all." The hint was not attended to^b.

At one o'clock in the morning, la Fayette went to the residence of the mayor to report on the state of the castle, respecting which the most anxious alarms had been entertained. He said that all the grates had been carefully shut; that he himself had renewed the watch-word at every gate; and that it was *impossible even for a mouse to escape*^c. In this he displayed the most consummate treachery. The royal family had left the Tuilleries at a quarter before twelve o'clock^d. In their way to the carriages they saw la Fayette pass them twice^e; it is not easy to suppose that, with the alarm on his mind which must have been communicated by the fears of the municipality, the general could have seen, without emotion and inquiry, a party so numerous, crossing the Carrouzel, and getting into two carriages so near the palace. Nor is it easy to believe that a double guard, stationed for an express purpose, could have been so remiss in their vigilance as to have permitted their escape without express instructions^f.

The progress of the royal family through several places where the king was known, must excite some surprise; but the conduct of the guards stationed by Bouillé to intercept all couriers from Paris, is entirely unaccountable, except on the ground of treachery. Various accidents had delayed the king's departure; and the breaking of his harness had impeded his progress, which occasioned a delay of some hours, upon which one of the stations aban-

^b Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 121.

^c See Bailly's Address to his Fellow-citizens. APPENDIX, No. IV.

^d See Trial of the Queen in Jordan's Political State of Europe. Procès des Bourbons, vol. iii. p. 33. 47.

^e Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 349.

^f Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 122.

doned their posts, and spread the report that the king was not to be expected^z.

When the king's escape was discovered, rage and consternation prevailed in Paris. La Fayette assumed a mode of conduct so decisive and so repugnant to his general character, as to confirm the probability that he knew precisely what would be the event of the king's project. He entered the hall of the assembly in his uniform, though contrary to the rule of the legislature, and though Camus made some opposition to the innovation; he gave a brief account of the transaction, and offered to be *personally responsible* for the conduct of Gouvion. He then mounted his white charger and pranced through the streets, smiling, and assuring the people that the king would soon return^b. The assembly decreed that messengers should be sent to all the departments to prevent the royal family from leaving the kingdom; but it is remarked that only one courier departed; that he was accompanied by an *aide-de-camp* of la Fayette, and that they followed the exact road taken by the king^c.

The circumstances which occasioned and attended the king's arrest are also calculated to induce strong suspicions of treachery. That Drouet should recognize the king by his resemblance to the effigy on an assignat of fifty livres, is extremely improbable; especially as he stated, that he only saw the king leaning back in the carriage^k; and the account is rendered still more suspicious from a different statement having been made by Muguet, as orator of the seven committees afterwards appointed, he said that Drouet had recognized the person of the queen^l. It

^z See Memoirs of THE KING, &c.

^b Debates. Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 128.

^c Pagès, vol. i. p. 482. Conjuraton de d'Orleans, ubi supra.

^k See Drouet's Statement to the Assembly, 24th June 1791.

^l See Debates, 13th July 1791.

must create great surprise, and can hardly be attributed to unpremeditated contingency, that in an instant after the king's arrival at Varennes, at the simple motion of the post-master of another town, the strongest measures should be adopted for detaining the fugitives; that the tocsin should be rung for ten leagues round; that legions of armed peasantry should immediately flock in; that every resistance on the part of Bouillé should be anticipated or frustrated; and that the inhabitants and national guard of Varennes should, in an instant, resolve to obey the post-master Drouet, in preference to the king in person. From so many concurrent circumstances, I have been led to conclude that la Fayette was apprized of the king's intention, and had previously concerted all necessary measures for frustrating it; his character is undoubtedly cleared from the imputation of a breach of trust; but he stands conspicuously guilty of the basest and most flagrant duplicity and treachery.

When the news of the king's capture arrived, la Fayette dispatched a detachment of national guards to meet and escort him. On the monarch's arrival in Paris, he added to the horrors and humiliations already prepared for him, by forbidding the people to take off their hats; and even instructing parties of the populace to vociferate insulting exclamations^m. As a reward for his exertions, he was again entrusted with the custody of the royal familyⁿ, and rendered himself worthy of the trust by an unexampled harshness and brutality of behaviour^o; he even carried his vigilance and mistrust to so ridiculous an excess as to place guards on the roof of the palace^p.

Treatment
of the
royal fa-
mily on
their re-
turn.

The exertions of the Orleans' faction at this crisis, 17th July. and the avowed plan of a few individuals to form a

^m Conjuración de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 125, 126.

ⁿ Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 369.

^o Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 440.

^p See Debates, 10th July.

republican government, seem to have communicated apprehensions to la Fayette which prior events had not been able to impart. He saw with pleasure the schism among the Jacobins formed by Barnave, and did not hesitate to coalesce with him and the Lameths to disappoint the views of Orleans and the supposed republicans. The prudence and eloquence of Barnave turned the debate on the king's abdication; he was restored to the same share of liberty he had enjoyed before his flight; and la Fayette from that period exerted himself to obtain for the monarch every indulgence in his power¹.

Petition in
the Champ
de Mars.

But though la Fayette had changed his sentiments, his character remained unaltered. He was still devoid of energy and foresight, vainly relying on his own powers to take advantage of circumstances, and incapable of anticipating or frustrating the schemes of his enemies. The indignation of the Jacobins at the overthrow of their fondest hopes occasioned a tumultuous meeting in the *Champ de Mars* to sign a petition to the legislature, which had for its principal object the dethronement of the king. The day began by the murder of an invalid and a hair-dresser, who were found under the steps of the altar of Liberty, where the petition lay for signature. The municipality, alarmed at the sanguinary disposition displayed by the mob, gave orders to la Fayette to march at the head of a sufficient number of national guards, and to exert all legal means to disperse the populace and seize the assassins; they at the same time proclaimed martial law, and displayed the red flag at the *Hotel de Ville*². Before these measures were adopted, la Fayette, unwilling to risk his popularity, had sent eleven different messengers to the insurgents to disperse; but the messengers had been treated with contempt and indignity, and

¹ Histories. Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 139.

² Histories. Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 410.

the mob persevered in their intention^a. When la Fayette arrived, the national guard were insulted with shouts of *à bas le drapeau rouge! à bas les bayonettes!* and were even pelted with stones^b. One man levelled a piece and fired at la Fayette himself; he was seized; but the general imprudently, though generously, permitted him to escape^c. The proclamation directed by the law was then read by Bailly, which producing no effect, la Fayette ordered part of the national guard to fire over the heads of the mob. This moderation, instead of producing the intended effect, inflamed their courage by an expectation of impunity; they became more and more outrageous, till at length la Fayette was obliged, in his own defence, to order his soldiers to fire effectually. About twelve were killed, and fifty or sixty wounded. The discomfited mob ran through the streets, vainly endeavouring to exasperate the citizens against the general; as they approached, the shops were shut, no one gave them countenance or encouragement, and they were obliged to hide themselves in their proper retreats, the *fauxbourgs* of St. Antoine and St. Marceau^d.

From this period, the overthrow of la Fayette's remaining popularity became easy. He had demonstrated his want of energy and foresight in so many instances, that he was no longer feared by the party over whom he enjoyed a momentary triumph. Some of them, whom dread of prosecution had induced to retire from the capital, speedily returned, and resumed their operations with as much audacity as before. The constitution was revised, and accepted by the king; and la Fayette, on the same day, moved a general amnesty, which should

Decline of
la Fayette's po-
pularity.

23th Sept.
Constitu-
tion re-
vised,

^a Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 143.

^b Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 412.

^c Impartial History, vol. i. p. 432. See Debates of 23d July.

^d Histories, Moore's View, &c.

and proclaimed.

La Fayette resigned.

Candidate for mayor-
alty.

Becomes a
Feuillant.

put a stop to all prosecutions begun on account of the revolution; and a decree to abolish the necessity of passports, and to permit free egress and regress as well to natives as foreigners; both which were voted with acclamations⁷. The constitution was proclaimed with studied pomp, and every effort was used to constrain an appearance of public rejoicing, but in vain. The cry of *Vive la Fayette* was sometimes heard; but the gaiety of the people was without animation, and their festivity without cordiality.

In obedience to the new constitution, la Fayette resigned the command of the national guard. He took leave of them in a very prudent letter, reminding them of their sacred duties, and advising them constantly to keep those duties in view as a guide for their conduct⁸. Bailly having soon afterwards resigned the office of mayor, la Fayette offered himself as a candidate to succeed him; but he was opposed by Petion, who, aided by the Jacobin influence, found a certain triumph: the votes were, for Petion 6728, for la Fayette 3126^b.

At the period when the Jacobins and Cordeliers were using the most violent exertions against the king, the Lameths and Barnave, finding themselves no longer treated with their wonted respect, but on the contrary often insulted, resolved to retire from the Jacobins and form a new club. This society was constituted in every respect like the Jacobins; and from its occupying a vacant convent belonging to the Bernardine monks, was called the club of *Feuillans*. La Fayette was an early member of this club; and he had the power, at the time of the

⁷ Debates. Historical Sketch, p. 410.

⁸ *Mercur* François, No. du 24 Septembre 1791.

^a Histories. Conjuratiou de d'Orléans, vol. iii. p. 151. *Mercur* François, No. du 15 Octobre 1791.

^b Impartial History, vol. i. p. 484. Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. p. 349. *Mercur* François, No. du 26 Novembre 1791.

insurrection in the *Champ de Mars*, to have given permanence to the new club, by dissolving the Jacobins. He neglected this measure, and the Jacobins, by means of riot, insurrection, and tumult, silenced and dispersed the Feuillans^c. It is probable that la Fayette's attachment to this society combined with other causes in preventing his success as candidate for the mayoralty.

After his failure in the election he retired to his estate in the country, either to hide his chagrin at the loss of his popularity and influence, or to devise means and form a party by which he might be enabled to regain them^d. Retires.

He was called from this retreat on the approach of hostilities, when the king was induced by the assembly to bestow on him the command of the army of the centre^e. Before he departed for Metz, la Fayette attended at the bar and made a speech, in which he assured the legislature of his eternal attachment, and of his determination to maintain the constitution. He was answered in a high strain of compliment by the president, who concluded with these words:—"The French nation, who have sworn to conquer and to live free, will always, with confidence, present to their foes and to tyrants, the constitution and la Fayette^f."—But la Fayette by his imprudence quickly destroyed any favourable hopes which might have arisen from this momentary display of respect. Obtains a command.
24th Dec.
His imprudence.

He appeared at the head of the Feuillans, who were daily becoming more unpopular; he coalesced with the Lameths, against whom he had been supposed to entertain an irreconcilable antipathy; went frequently to court, avowing a hearty interest in the

^c See *Exposition abrégée des Principes, &c.* par Arthur Roger Dillon, p. 33. *Histories. Moore's View*, vol. ii. p. 475.

^d *Life of Dumouriez*, vol. ii. p. 159. *Peltier's late Picture*, vol. i. p. 80.

^e *Histories. Life of Dumouriez*, ubi supra.

^f *Debates.*

cause of the king whom he had laboured to degrade; and he constantly appeared decorated with a red riband, although he had been one of the most strenuous advocates for the abolition of every distinction of rank ^c.

Joins the
army
Feb. 1793

Visits
Paris.

When la Fayette joined his army, he employed himself in restoring order and discipline, and inspiring the troops with an attachment to his person, in which he partly succeeded ^b. Some time before the declaration of war, Narbonne the minister called him to Paris to consult on the state of the army. He availed himself of this opportunity to enter into some pitiful cabinet intrigues, in which he was made the tool of Narbonne, and derived neither honour nor advantage from his exertions ^d. After Narbonne had been displaced, Dumouriez, his successor, formed a plan of military operations for the campaign, in which la Fayette affected to acquiesce, and demanded the chief command. Dumouriez, too wise to grant this important station to a man differing so widely in politics from himself, yet too prudent to incense him by an abrupt refusal, withheld the command, and yet flattered la Fayette with hopes. He left Paris to rejoin the army with an appearance of content, but concealing a violent resentment in his breast ^e.

May.
Military
opera-
tions,

I shall not discuss la Fayette's military operations, which at this period were not of great importance. Dumouriez accuses him, and perhaps justly, of having converted Givet, which was indicated by the plan of the campaign merely for a temporary camp, into a fixed position; and further asserts, that when by this error the army was reduced to want,

^c Life of Dumouriez, vol. ii. p. 257.

^b Idem, p. 290.

^d See Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. c. xviii. Impartial History, vol. i. p. 502.

^e Life of Dumouriez, vol. ii. p. 291.

he began to display his discontent in complaints against the ministry¹.

The political conduct of la Fayette had now undergone a total change; and, from being the most assiduous persecutor, he was become the most zealous friend of the royal family. In this he was not actuated by any sentiment of respect towards the object of his former malignity, or by any emotion of regret for his past cruelty and violence; he was animated merely by a puerile regard for a constitution which he vainly considered as of his own formation, and which had been revised under his immediate auspices and personal protection: he was, to use the phrase of M. Lally Tollendal, *pursuing his romance*^m. The king had too much judgment, and a mind too elevated, to bestow unlimited confidence on a man of la Fayette's description: he could not communicate with him amicably; his situation was so desperate that he was forced to accept of services which he did not command: but the king felt the greatest reluctance to measures which appeared violent, though they might be qualified by the appellation of vigorous; and both he and the queen were unwilling to owe an important service to a man whom they had so long and so justly considered as their enemyⁿ.

In the political ferment which was excited during the tyranny of the Jacobin administration, la Fayette was the object of general suspicion and distrust. He had been alternately the friend and the opponent of every faction, and every class of men surveyed him with jealousy, and assigned to his ambition a scope which was rather limited by their fears than by his own talents or views^o. At length the audacious proceedings of the ministry,

His desire
to assist
the king.

Jealousies
concern-
ing him.

¹ Life of Dumouriez, p. 299

^m See Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 329.

ⁿ Idem, p. 327.

^o Mercure François, No. du 19 Mai 1793.

His letter
to the as-
sembly,
16th Jun.

their virulent attacks on the person and prerogatives of the king, roused the general to decisive action, and he made his attack on the Jacobins. From the camp at Maubeuge, where he was now entrenched, he wrote his famous letter to the national assembly; which, though it contains many laudable sentiments, is a monument of vanity, presumption, and want of judgment. It begins with a violent attack on Dumouriez, who at that moment had turned out three of his Jacobin colleagues, but whose cause was rather advanced than injured by la Fayette's animadversions. The Jacobin club is attacked with a warmth proportioned to the magnitude of their crimes, and the turpitude of their political conduct. The club is represented as "a distinct corporation in the midst of the French people, whose power it usurps by subjugating their representatives and mandataries. It is there," he continues, "that, in public sittings, love of the laws is denominated aristocracy; and their infraction, patriotism:—there the assassins of Desilles receive triumphs:—the crimes of Jourdan find panegyrists:—there also the recital of the assassination that stained the city of Metz excited infernal acclamations of joy."—Though these animadversions are undoubtedly just, they could hardly be attended with the desired effect, proceeding from la Fayette, one of the original founders of the Jacobins, and a preacher of the sacred duties of insurrection. Had his letter been dispassionately considered, it would have been construed as the intemperate effusion of disappointed ambition; the rancorous invective of a man, who felt angry that others had outstripped him in the race of disloyalty. When he mentions himself, it is still in the terms of self-applause with which he ordinarily adverted to his revolutionary exploits; and if his letter is read with a reference to that paragraph, it will prove that his indignation is directed rather against the persons than the principles

ciples of the Jacobin rulers; and by the ostentatious manner in which he mentions the sovereignty of the people, and his own exertions in their behalf, it is plain that he was again ready to have assumed the lead of a factious populace, and that his greatest source of complaint was their attachment to other leaders. He says, "As for me, gentlemen; who espoused the American cause at the very moment when its ambassadors declared to me that it was lost; who thenceforward devoted myself to a persevering defence of liberty, and the sovereignty of the people; who, on the 11th of July 1789, on presenting to my country a declaration of rights, dared to tell her—for a nation to be free, it is sufficient that she wills it:—I come now, full of confidence in the justice of our cause, of contempt for the cowards who desert it, and of indignation against the traitors who would fally it; I come to declare that the French nation, if she is not the most vile in the universe, may, and ought to resist the conspiracy of kings formed against her."

With a copy of this letter la Fayette transmitted an epistle to Louis XVI. equally replete with vanity, and encouraging the king, in terms rather supercilious than respectful, to persevere in maintaining his authority.

To the king.

When la Fayette's letter was read in the assembly, it was greatly applauded by the majority, and by the tribunes^p; it did not however escape severe censures from those whose power and influence it attacked, whose views and intrigues it unveiled. Vergniaud observed, that the remonstrances of a general at the head of an army looked like an attempt to overawe the legislature; and in fact this observation might fairly be deduced from some expressions in the letter. Guadet said, that Cromwell

18th June.
Proceed-
ings in the
assembly

^p Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 330.

would have used the same style in writing to the parliament of Great Britain, when the liberties of England had been destroyed¹.

in the
Jacobin
club.

If these arguments were attended with little effect in the national assembly, the animadversions made in the Jacobin club produced the most violent enthusiasm. All the popular orators of that execrable society, particularly Robespierre, Danton, Camille Desmoulins, and Collot d'Herbois, uttered violent philippics against the general, and extended their rancour to Dumouriez, to the ministers, and to the king².

Effects of
la Fayette's
proceeding.

The effect of this imprudent letter was to weaken the royal cause, and to afford a pretence for imputations the most unjust and inconsistent with the real character of the king. By involving Dumouriez, the Brissotine faction, and the whole Jacobin club in one common accusation, it frustrated those effects which might have been derived from the dissensions already prevailing between the Brissotines and the *incorruptibles*, and laid the foundation of that sullen coalition which took place between the parties, and enabled them to act in concert for the destruction of royalty. The first result of la Fayette's proceeding was the dreadful insurrection in which the Jacobins tried their strength against all the constituted authorities, and succeeded in making the king's palace a scene of tumult and horror³.

His journey
to
Paris.

The intelligence of this insult inspired la Fayette's army with the utmost indignation; it is even said that they proposed signing an agreement of association to resist the further encroachments of the Jacobins on the royal power, but were prevented by

¹ See the Letters and Debates on them. See also Pagès, vol. i. p. 462. Impartial History, vol. ii. p. 40. Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 489.

² See a short Minute of this Debate in Jordan's Political State of Europe, vol. i. p. 173.

³ Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 330. See also BRISSOT, ROBESPIERRE, PETION.

the general¹. He resolved however to go to Paris; but, with his usual vanity and want of foresight, instead of preparing a party to welcome his arrival and give importance to his exertions, or selecting a body of soldiers to accompany and second his efforts, he left the army and arrived in Paris unattended and unexpected. There was, on the first view, some appearance of courage, some exhibition of a decided character in this conduct, which led the king to hope that la Fayette's arrival would benefit his affairs². The general's return occasioned a transient flash of popularity, a momentary gleam of former affection in the people. He was waited on at his hotel by several battalions of the national guards, who entered warmly into his views, and even proposed to crush the Jacobin club³. A tree of liberty, ornamented with garlands and cockades, was planted before his door; and the *poissardes* greeted him with their customary acclamations⁴.

The general repaired to the national assembly, where he delivered a short but energetic speech, avowing his letter of the 16th, pressing the topics contained in it, and requiring that the instigators of the tumult on the 20th of June should be brought to condign punishment. At the close of his harangue he was invited to the honours of the sitting. The Jacobins were so entirely persuaded that he came attended by a powerful party, or at least that a considerable division of his army was on the march to enforce his views, that their silence would have afforded him an easy triumph, but for the re-

28th June.
Visit to the
assembly.

¹ See Debates, 29th June.

² Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 331. Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 491.

³ Impartial History, vol. ii. p. 49. Peltier's late Picture of Paris, vol. i. p. 131.

⁴ Impartial History, ubi sup. Peltier says, however, that the nose-gays and fishwomen were purchased in the market by la Fayette's friends. See late Picture of Paris, ubi sup.

collection and intrepidity of Gaudet. That deputy, seeing the imminent ruin of his faction, and conscious that their existence depended on a vigorous exertion, rose, and with his accustomed eloquence commenced a severe philippic against the general for quitting his post without leave, and for attempting to terrify the legislature by presenting remonstrances from his army. Gaudet asserted that he well deserved to have a decree of accusation pronounced against him; but contented himself with moving, that it should be inquired of the minister of war, whether he had given la Fayette permission to quit the army under his command. In this crisis la Fayette displayed the littleness of his mind, and his incapacity to meet a sudden exigency with proportionate resources: instead of interrupting the first speaker, and requesting that the assembly should instantly take into consideration the message of the army, he sat still, a quiet, unresisting, and unreplying auditor of the calumnies and invectives uttered against him. Gaudet's motion was negatived by a majority of five; but the tribunes were so completely gained by the spirit of his attack, and so disgusted with the pusillanimous conduct and contemptible appearance of la Fayette, that every speech of the Jacobin party was crowned with the loudest applauses, and the general retired from the hall of the assembly, baffled and derided².

His embarrassment.

La Fayette was now thoroughly sensible of his own imprudence, and sought to repair it when too late. He endeavoured to regain by intrigue the vantage-ground which he had lost through want of courage, and ran about Paris in quest of advice to enable him to retract the rash step he had taken, or maintain his credit in the capital and in the army³. His friends foresaw his ruin. His enemies, who so

² Debates. Histories. Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 331. et seq.

³ Peltier's late Picture, vol. i. p. 131.

lately

lately expected to be crushed by his influence, now finding their immunity secured, began a violent and clamorous attack on the general. They exerted their wonted activity, and their usual means to make him odious with the populace; he was stigmatised as a second Cromwell, and the mob burned him in effigy^b. The tribune of the Jacobin club thundered with declamations against him^c; and Dumouriez, who was known to be on ill terms with la Fayette, was invited to join in a plot for assassinating his rival, which was pointed out as the most effectual mode of re-establishing his credit with the Jacobin club, whose favour he was then desirous to regain. Dumouriez however declined the proposal^d.

^b Impartial History, vol. ii. p. 51.

^c Among the most remarkable speeches made on the occasion is that of Collot d'Herbois, of which the following is an extract: "I know very well that Cæsar and Cromwell, made use of their armies to enslave their countries, and I certainly felt no inconsiderable surprise at finding la Fayette put in comparison with those men. His pride must be gratified by the parallel, but, as an orator in the national assembly has already observed, such comparisons can never be successfully supported. Virtue, however simple and unassuming, may acquire celebrity; but vice never can, unless combined with a magnitude of genius which raises it to such a height as to attract admiration and create astonishment. This was the characteristic of Cromwell and Cæsar, and history has recorded their fame. That of la Fayette will have but a momentary commemoration in the pages of news-writers. Little courtiers' tricks, *ail-de-bauf* intrigues, so familiar to the Noailles family, gave him distinction in the American war, in preference to many other Frenchmen, who served the cause better than himself; and, in fact, chance, for the moment, attached a kind of charm to the name of la Fayette. He has taken advantage of it. You are astonished, gentlemen, that he has not, in compliance with the law, relinquished it, and assumed the appellation, Motier; he acts prudently; if he gives up the name of la Fayette, he has nothing left." See le Défenseur de la Constitution, par M. Robespierre, p. 450.

^d This story is told by Dumouriez (see his Life, vol. ii. p. 411.); but though the basis is strictly consonant with the violence and atrocity of the Jacobin character, Dumouriez in his narrative of the fact betrays so much confusion, and misstates so many circumstances, that a doubt arises whether the proposal was ever made, or whether the account of it is fabricated by Dumouriez to palliate the infamy of his own conduct; and to divert the reader's attention from an examination into his turpitude and treachery. Dumouriez states, that this proposal was made to him on the 17th or 18th of June, at which time la Fayette was at Maubeuge, and that la Fayette had departed from Paris three days before the irruption into the palace on the 20th of June, when in fact he did not go to Paris till eight days after that event.

Returns to
the army.

Disappointed, insulted, and trembling for his own safety, the hero of the two worlds fled from Paris to resume the command of his army; having, by this display of his temerity and weakness, added to the resources as well as to the insolence of his opponents. They eagerly availed themselves of the advantage thus acquired, and the engines of Jacobin detraction were assiduously employed against him.

Exertions
of the
Jacobins.

Every kind of rancorous and scurrilous invective was vented against him at the Jacobin club and in the Jacobin papers; numerous petitions from the inhabitants of the metropolis, and from several of the departments, from the *fédérés*, and even from individuals, were presented to the assembly, requiring his punishment^f; and at length Brissot, Gaudet, and the leaders of the Gironde, brought forward their absurd denunciation respecting the proposal made by him to Luckner, a denunciation which afforded another proof of the mendacity of those demagogues, but which did not diminish their popularity, or restore the affection of the people to la Fayette^g.

La Fayette's
conduct.

To increase his influence, and acquire the unlimited confidence of his army, now became the general's principal endeavour; and his superiority both in talents and manners to Luckner facilitated his success. The Jacobin writers have with equal presumption and ignorance asserted, that la Fayette betrayed his country, and permitted the Austrians to penetrate the French territories, thinking with their assistance to crush the Jacobins, and obtain such a constitution as the English^h. This is obviously a calumny; and his conduct is better depicted by the marquis de Bouillé, who says; "La Fayette, who commanded on the Sambre, the Meuse, and the Moselle, met with no check, it is true, but obtained no success; the consequence

^f See Debates.

^g See BRISOT.

^h Louvet's Narrative, p. 9, 10.

“ of his great circumspection both as a general and
 “ a politician ‘.’” La Fayette at this time was
 considered the only effectual protector of the royal
 family ; and was willing to have used any exertion
 which his limited genius and the frigid circumspec-
 tion of his character allowed, to have rescued his
 sovereign from the fate too obviously impending
 over him. There is little room to doubt that some
 such plan was in agitation, and that la Fayette pro-
 posed with the assistance of his army to give it
 effect ; but what was the nature of the plan, or to
 whom it was confided, remains at present an inscru-
 table mystery. I shall give the account of external
 appearances in the words of Dumouriez, a compe-
 tent though prejudiced judge, who was then with
 the army. “ Whatever might be the aim of la
 “ Fayette and the faction attached to him, he
 “ deemed it proper to change his command for
 “ that of the army of the north, which brought
 “ him nearer to Paris, and to banish Luckner to
 “ the centre. These generals, like Cæsar and
 “ Pompey, considered themselves the proprietors
 “ of their respective armies ; each believed himself
 “ greatly beloved by his own troops, and did not
 “ choose to relinquish them. However, the war
 “ then appeared likely to become more brisk on
 “ the frontier towards which Luckner was sent ;
 “ for the Prussians were assembling in the province
 “ of Luxembourg and the electorate of Treves.
 “ One part of the Imperial army had at the same
 “ time crossed through the Low Countries, under
 “ the command of general Clairfait, in order to
 “ join them ; and the emigrants flew thither in
 “ crowds along with the king’s brothers. It was
 “ at a moment like this, when every man ought to
 “ have remained at his post in order to defend
 “ that part with which he had made himself ac-

¹ Bouillé’s Memoirs, p. 497.

“ quainted,

"quainted, with troops also accustomed to the
 "country, that the minister at war and the two
 "generals concerted a most extraordinary and
 "dangerous movement; this was no less than to
 "transport Luckner's army to Metz, and that of
 "la Fayette to Valenciennes. In consequence of
 "this, both the frontiers were stripped during fe-
 "veral days of their protection, the two armies
 "were fatigued by a march of eighty leagues in
 "the month of July, and this was also so far re-
 "markable, as it produced a re-union during two
 "days of all the troops and both the generals, at
 "an internal position, towards Capelle, within
 "forty leagues of Paris. If it were the plan of
 "this faction to march to Paris, it is at least certain
 "that Luckner had not been apprized of, and did
 "not consent to it. But there was no manner
 "of occasion either for him or his army, as on the
 "receipt of an order from the king to march toward
 "Sedan, he would instantly have obeyed, and the
 "twenty thousand men under la Fayette would
 "have been sufficient to have effected a revolution
 "in Paris^k."

3th Aug.
 Debate
 respecting
 him.

Stimulated by revenge or apprehension, the Ja-
 cobins at length made their last grand effort to de-
 stroy la Fayette. Jean de Brie produced the report
 on the general's conduct, and concluded by moving
 for a decree of accusation against him. He was
 supported by Brissot, who reinforced the arguments
 adduced with all the invective which his talent for
 falsehood, and his inveterate rancour could supply.
 La Fayette was defended by M. Vaublanc and
 other members. The decree of accusation was
 negatived by a large majority^l. The galleries, du-
 ring the whole debate, had shewn the most decided

^k Life of Dumouriez, vol. iii. p. 28. Peltier's late Picture of
 Paris, vol. ii. p. 175.

^l Four hundred and six against two hundred and twenty-four.
 See Debates. Histories. Moore's Journal, vol. i. p. 21.

partiality

partiality to the accusers of la Fayette. When his defenders were retiring from the hall, they were surrounded by parties of the rabble, who insulted, hooted, hissed, and even pelted them with dirt and rubbish; M. Vaublanc narrowly escaped assassination^m.

This acquittal of the principal supporter of royalty communicated to the Jacobins a dread lest the cause itself should finally triumph. They found their influence in the assembly insufficient, and therefore determined to place their chief reliance on the mob. The question of the king's *déchéance* was therefore postponed, and the revolt of the tenth of August organised.

By a singular accident, la Fayette was apprised of the events of that fatal day, before any account of it reached the army. He had sent M. d'Arblais, an officer of distinction in the army, with some dispatches to the war minister. On the morning of the eleventh, when M. d'Arblais had arrived within a post of Paris, he was met by a grenadier of the national guard, who informed him of the events of the preceding day. After surmounting some opposition from the municipal officers of the place, M. d'Arblais returned to Sedan, and imparted to his general the intelligence he had receivedⁿ.

Had la Fayette possessed the genius requisite for the part he fancied himself capable of performing, that of leader of a revolution, he would instantly have availed himself of his information, and by means of his popularity might have induced his army to adopt such a line of conduct as would effectually have detached them from the interests and influence of the Jacobins, and founded an active opposing power. He made no attempt of the kind; but

^m Fennel's Review, p. 338. Moore's Journal, vol. i. p. 23. Account of the Revolt and Massacre, p. 13.

ⁿ Moore's Journal, vol. i. p. 233.

after the assembly had destroyed the constitution, he affected to bind his army by oaths to maintain it. Instead of impelling them to some active resolutions against the traitors in the capital, he contented himself with a neutral adherence to a constitution which contempt no less than violence had already devoted to destruction. Dumouriez, who anxiously watched the motions of la Fayette, immediately rejected this oath, and denounced his rival for proposing it; he besieged the committee of twenty-one with complaints and petitions, and finally succeeded in obtaining the command of la Fayette's army*.

Popular
outrages.

In the confusion, and amidst the horrors of the tenth of August, and the succeeding days, la Fayette had not been overlooked or forgotten. All busts and pictures of him were assiduously sought out and destroyed†. A celebrated artist, named Duvivier, employed at the French mint, had been engaged to engrave a medal with an inscription in honour of the Washington of France. Seeing, from the aspect of affairs, that his work was not likely to add either to his wealth or reputation, he offered up the unfinished performance on the altar of the common council, who unanimously decreed that it should be broke to pieces by the common executioner‡.

Commis-
sioners ar-
rested at
Sedan.

La Fayette was, at this period, at Sedan, to which place three commissioners were dispatched to enlighten the army; and, as some supposed, to arrest the general§. He had, however, anticipated their design, and used his influence with the municipality so effectually, that the commissioners were arrested immediately on their arrival. The news of this event, together with la Fayette's address to the municipality and to his troops, excited the most lively

* Louvet's Narrative, p. 28.

† Impartial History, vol. ii. p. 115.

‡ Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 120.

§ Histories. Moore's Journal, vol. i. p. 75.

indigna-

indignation, and prompted the most violent resolutions. He was denounced in the assembly, and a decree of accusation and degradation procured against him. New commissioners were dispatched with powers more extensive, and with orders to avoid coming within the reach of his influence. The streets of Paris echoed with clamours and reproaches against him, a price was set on his head, and all citizens charged to assist in apprehending, and authorised to destroy him.

The arrestation of the commissioners was the last act of authority performed by la Fayette; and in this, as in every other instance, he betrayed his inconsiderateness and want of judgment. He had not secured the adherence of his army, nor taken any step to obtain the aid or insure the forbearance of the enemy in case of resistance from his own troops, or of opposition from any other body of forces to the plan he might have conceived. He soon experienced that little reliance could be placed on his soldiers; for, although a great part of them professed an adherence to his views, several battalions revolted, and declared for the national assembly. Desertions were very frequent, and the deserters who repaired to Paris were so honourably received as to afford encouragement to others to follow their example. After the imprisonment of the commissioners, la Fayette passed five days with his army, irresolute, incapable of action, and conscious that the reins of power were slipping from his feeble grasp. The army began to testify dissatisfaction at the arrest of the deputies; the patriotic club of Sedan excited some riots round the place of their detention. A rumour prevailed that Dumouriez was at Valenciennes, concerting hostile measures with the new commissioners. The discontent of the troops daily

La Fayette's subsequent conduct.

² Debates. Histories. Moore's Journal, vol. i. p. 121.

¹ Fennel's Review, p. 455. ² See Debates.

19th Aug.
Flight,

and cap-
ture.

Estate con-
fiscated.

increased; and they even proceeded so far as to deride the efforts of Alexander Lameth to induce them to take the oath which la Fayette had directed. Convinced, at length, of the impossibility of effecting any undertaking either honourable or advantageous to himself, la Fayette terminated his inglorious career by a clandestine flight, leaving the municipality of Sedan, and all those who had been misled by his representations, to sustain the vengeance of the triumphant party, without premonition of his designs, or the possibility of excusing their own conduct. He was attended in his flight by twenty-three officers and their servants. They took their route through the woods of Bouillon, and, favoured by the darkness, escaped unperceived. A little beyond Rochefort they were descried by a picquet-guard of Limbourg volunteers. A detachment of horse was immediately ordered to secure them. They surrendered without resistance, and were made prisoners by the king of Prussia*.

The Jacobins considered the flight of la Fayette a most propitious event, as it relieved them from all the terrors his presence occasioned, and confirmed their ascendancy over the whole army. The assembly confiscated his estate†. It was pretended, however, that he had secured thirty-seven thousand *Louis-d'or*, which were taken from him at the time of his capture; but there appears no authority or foundation for this report‡.

* Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 173, et seq. Histories. I close the memoirs of la Fayette at this period, because a discussion of the particulars of his captivity and release is not consistent with the principal object of this work. Those who may be inclined to pursue the subject are referred to the discussion of his protest by Peltier (Late Picture, vol. ii. p. 188); to the admirable speeches of Burke and Windham in the Parliamentary Debates; and to a pamphlet, intitled "An Essay on the Causes and Vicissitudes of the French Revolution, including a vindication of general la Fayette's character." Printed for Debrett, 1797.

† Debates. Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 199.

‡ Mercure François, No. du 30 Octobre 1792.

During

During the tyranny of Robespierre, all the relatives of la Fayette who remained in France were imprisoned, and most of them executed. His wife was by some accident not included in any of the lists of proscription; she survived the tyrant, obtained her liberty, and rejoined her husband^a.

Fate of his family,

The municipality of Sedan, whom la Fayette had abandoned without affording them the means of negotiating for their own safety or repairing their fault, liberated the commissioners with the most humble protestations and submissive apologies. Kerfaint, one of the commissioners, interceded for them, and obtained from the assembly a promise of pardon; but in the time of Robespierre they were imprisoned and guillotined *en masse*^b.

and of the municipality of Sedan.

^a Miss Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. ii. p. 94.

^b Debates. Miss Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. iii. p. 75.

GOBET.

1786.
Birth and
profession.

GOBET, who late in life made himself famous by his apostasy, was born of plebeian parents at Porentui, in the dominions of the prince bishop of Basl. That prelate had shewn great kindness to Gobet and all his family; and most probably by his assistance Gobet was advanced to the bishopric of Lydda. He was also the bishop's suffragan for those parts of his diocese which lay within the French territories^c.

1789.
Member
of consti-
tuent as-
sembly.

Gobet was returned a member of the constituent assembly for a canton of Alsace, was one of the *left side*, and a constant attendant at the Jacobin club. He displayed his ingratitude by a perfidious attempt to deprive his benefactor of his dominions, and reduce him to a pension of twelve thousand livres (525 l.) a-year. This was to have been performed by means of an insurrection, which he had instigated his relations to promote to the utmost of their power, but the project failed^d.

14th Mar.
1791.
Made
bishop of
Paris.

His interest with the Jacobins, and his disregard of every scruple which opposed his progress to preferment, occasioned his nomination to be constitutional, or intruding bishop of Paris. Immediately on his appointment, he went to his patrons, the Jacobins, to profess his devotion to their commands,

^c Lettres d'un François sur les Moyens qui ont opéré la Revolution, &c. p. 51. Gobet's Speech to the Convention, 7th Nov. 1793. Barruel's History of the Clergy, Part I. p. 81.

^d Lettre d'un François, &c. p. 51.

and cordial participation in all their views. Some 25th Apr.
time afterwards he repeated the same sentiments to
the assembly, and received, as usual, the compliments
of the *left side*. A wag on the *right side* moved;
that his speech, together with the answer of the
president, Rewbell, should be printed and sent to
the departments. Gobet was little distinguished
in the assembly; his eloquence made no impression,
and few of his efforts are recorded; the most re-
markable was a canting speech which he made on
the public felicity, and the universal joy on the pro-
mulgation of the constitution. He praised the assem- 22d Sept.
bly for having constantly displayed the firmest con-
fidence in God, and invited the faithful amongst
them to a religious ceremony to be performed the
next Sunday, when the mass was to be followed by
a sermon analogous to the occasion, and the whole
terminated by a grand *Te Deum*. Twenty-four
members were appointed to attend at the cathedral.

During the sittings of the legislative assembly he 23d Jan.
was not noticed; he was appointed by the conven- 1793. De-
tion commissary to the executive power at Porentrui, ounced.
his native place, but was, for some cause, de-
nounced to the convention by the popular society
established there. On his return to Paris, he
formed a connexion with the Cordeliers, and, by
the persuasion of Clootz, Hebert, and Chaumette,
aided by a bribe of eighty-five thousand livres
(3718*l.* 15*s.*) from the committee of public safety,
was induced to make a formal and public renuncia-
tion of his religion. This execrable apostasy, which
youth and ambition could not have excused, was
reserved for him at the age of sixty-seven; a period
when habit, if not reason, might have been sup-

Renounces
his reli-
gion.

^e Debates. See *Mercur Français*, No. du 7 Mai 1793, p. 15.

^f Debates.

^g Idem.

^h Conspiracy of Robespierre, p. 118.

ⁱ *Etat de la France*, p. 66.

7th Nov.
1793.

posed to confer stability; and when hope and fear, so far as they relate to temporal advantage, might be considered as mortified or suspended. He went to the bar of the convention, and made a ridiculous speech, in which he averred that there ought to be no other worship but that of liberty and equality, and renounced his functions as minister of the catholic church. This profane and indecorous ceremony (for he came attended by his rector and the municipality of Paris) was permitted, and applauded by the national convention. Gobet received the fraternal embrace from the president^{*}; the wife of Anacharsis Clootz proposed that a statue should be decreed to the first priest who had abjured christianity, and that the present æra should be denominated the reign of Nature[†]. The applause bestowed on this profanation produced many similar scenes; the clergy from all quarters of the republic made similar protestations, and a general plunder of the effects of the church was sanctioned[‡].

His re-
pentance.

But though interest or ambition had swayed Gobet to act in this disgraceful manner, conscience reproached and deprived him of all internal consolation. Under the influence of remorse and terror, he applied to the abbé Barruel for advice and assistance, that he might be enabled to return to the bosom of the church. Every thing was arranged; the pope had listened with kindness to his professions of penitence and promises of future fidelity. Gobet had written his retractation of errors in six letters, addressed to different individuals and bodies corporate. He was anxious to quit France that he might escape the fury of the Jacobins; but his design became known to Robespierre. Five months after his abjuration of religion, Gobet was arrested, tried on a charge of counter-revolutionary crimes, and exe-

Arrested
and exe-
cuted,
9th April,
1796.

^{*} Debates.

[†] Tableau des Prisons sous Robespierre.

[‡] Conspiracy of Robespierre, p. 118.

cuted,

cuted. His state of mind was truly deplorable; convinced of the truth of religion, yet he had renounced all his share in its consolatory promises; on the eve of returning to the faith he had abandoned, but cut off ere he could put his design in execution. His deportment was marked with the horrors which agitated his soul, and betrayed the pangs of anxiety, remorse, and despair^a.

^a *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Jacobinisme*, par Barruel, vol. ii. p. 453. n. *Conspiracy of Robespierre*, p. 129. *Miss Williams's Letters in 1794*, vol. ii. p. 36.

JACQUES RÉNÉ HEBERT.

His original situation.

HEBERT was one of those wretches whom the revolution raised from obscurity and indigence, and placed on an eminence to which neither virtue or talents enabled them to aspire. He was a barber in a small village^o, came to Paris in quality of candle-snuffer to a theatre, and was afterwards promoted to the receipt of entrance-money at one of the doors^p; but being discharged for dishonesty, he had recourse to a less unprincipled mode of robbery, that of-picking pockets^q.

2d Sept.
1792.
Judge at
la Force.

The revolution however soon opened a road to celebrity and fortune, from which he even was not excluded. What were his first occupations I have not been able to discover, but he soon became known as a disciple of Marat, and as a promoter of those measures which were afterwards called *ultra-revolutionary*. The first exploit in which he made any conspicuous figure was as judge of the mock tribunal at the prison of *la Force*, where he directed, amongst many other murders, that of the *princesse de Lamballe*^r.

His paper.

He became editor of a journal called *Le Pere Duchesne*, which totally eclipsed the efforts of *Prud'homme* in falsity and rancour, and almost rivalled the *friend of the people* himself in blasphemy, viru-

^o Conspiracy of Robespierre, p. 124.

^p Miss Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. iii. p. 68. n.

^q Tableau des Prisons sous Robespierre.

^r Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 375. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 207.

lence,

lence, and obscenity'. The fervid region of the Jacobins being too temperate for his furious zeal, he became one of the leaders of the Cordeliers, who were composed of the most combustible members of the former club. His services were speedily acknowledged and rewarded by his party; he was employed by them to hunt down whomsoever they disliked, particularly the Brissotine faction; and to give more effect to his calumnies, his journal was circulated with the greatest profusion, it was left at the post-houses and inns, and even thrust into the doors of the cottages that the poor might not escape its influence'. He was permitted to draw large sums from the public treasury, private confiscations and bribes were added to gratify his rapacity, and by the influence of his party he was created deputy *procureur-general* of the *commune*^a. Soon after 31st Oct. the meeting of the convention, the insolence of the commune excited the indignation of the Gironde: Kersaint attacked them with great acrimony; and Hebert, who attended as their solicitor, made a very bold and petulant reply, which did him great credit with the Mountain^b. His insolence arose to such a March height, that he presented at the bar a petition which 1793. required the heads of all the generals, and all the members of the executive council^c. He was after- 22d May. wards arrested by the committee of twelve; but his faction made his release a public cause, and the im- 30th May. petuous mob obtained it by force from the terrified convention^d.

^a For a character of his journal, see Louvet's Narrative, p. 24. Appel à l'Impartiale Postérité, vol. ii. p. 34. Playfair's History of Jacobinism, p. 584.

^b Conspiracy of Robespierre, p. 90.

^c See Conspiracy of Robespierre, p. 118. Some Persons have asserted that he was member of the convention, but this is a mistake. See New Annual Register for 1793, p. 177. Playfair's History of Jacobinism, p. 561.

^d Debates. Robespierre à ses Commettans, vol. i. p. 275.

^e Debates. Pâges, vol. ii. p. 122.

^f Louvet's Narrative, p. 51. Conspiracy of Robespierre, p. 124. Garat says, and justly, that it was a great folly to send Hebert to jail, while Marat remained in the convention. Memoirs, p. 144.

Prosecutes
the queen.

Manners
of the
Cordeliers.

As deputy *procureur*, he was employed in the prosecution of the unfortunate queen^a; and in reducing the allegations against her, he had the unblushing brutality to make that charge, at which human nature revolts, at which every mother and every son feels the blood chill with horror; that charge, which neither Jacobin or Cordelier besides himself would avow, and which excited the indignation even of Robespierre^b. While the Brissotines retained any power or credit with the public, Hebert, at the head of the Cordeliers, was encouraged to attack them, and he vainly supposed that his activity in the storm was the chief cause of it, and that he was qualified to direct as well as profit by it. This error was confirmed by the increasing influence of his party, some of whom, jealous of Robespierre, were desirous of raising a faction which should keep him in check; but their conduct insured their downfall on the first change of popular opinion. They aspired to the reputation of singularity; they banished from conversation the customary compliment of sir and madam; from address, the ceremony of a bow; from external appearance, cleanliness and decency; from manners, urbanity; from the conjugal tie, permanence; from the living, religion; and from the dying, hope: they obliterated every vestige of old customs, by a new calendar; they established the law of divorces, took away all sanctimony from the forms of marriage, baptism, and burial, and proclaimed the doctrine that *death is an eternal sleep*. The immediate effect of these innovations on the appearance,

^a See her trial and his evidence, Jordan's Political State of Europe, vol. v. p. 162. Procès des Bourbons, vol. iii.

^b See Miss Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. i. p. 154, 155. vol. ii. p. 13. It is asserted that he had intended, instead of the miserable hearsay which he offered as evidence, to have produced the unhappy dauphin in a state of intoxication, and to have extorted from him such answers as would have served by artful equivocations to substantiate the crime his more than diabolical malice had suggested. Playfair's History of Jacobinism, p. 524.

conversation, and morals of the people, was conspicuous. The dress of the deputies of the nation sitting in convention was fit for the porters on the quays; a greasy red cap, with a dirty tri-coloured cockade, dirty linen, a coarse dirty jacket, daggers and pistols in abundance at the girdle, and a large pair of pantaloons of coarse blue cloth: their conversation was made up of oaths, execrations, obscenities, and blasphemies, and their morals were worthy of their appearance and dialect. The consummation of their atrocities was the formal abolition of the Christian religion, and the revival of paganism, by the worship of liberty, equality, and reason. A feast in honour of the latter attribute was given at Paris; the goddess was represented by madame Momoro^d, who honoured every individual of the convention with an embrace. This profane ceremony was the invention of Hebert^e. The *ci-devant* cathedral of Paris was decorated for the occasion with a temple of philosophy erected on a mount, adorned with the busts of philosophers, and illuminated with a flambeau, denominated *the torch of truth*. Besides the convention, all the constituted authorities assisted at this ridiculous ceremony, and paid their vows and adorations.

10th Nov.
Feast of
reason.

^c New Annual Register for 1794, p. 351, 352. Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 125.

^d MADAME MOMORO was married to the president of one of the sections of Paris. She was a great coarse woman, awkward in her carriage, with a boisterous voice, and bad teeth. After acting her part in this burlesque ceremony, she was implicated in the conspiracy of the Cordeliers, of which club her husband was a conspicuous member, arrested and sent to the prison called *Port Libre*. She bore the raileries of her fellow prisoners with a good grace, and entertained, for some time, hopes that an insurrection of the people would procure the liberation of her husband and herself; but these hopes were frustrated. Soon after the execution of her husband she was transferred to the *Conciergerie*, from the *Conciergerie* to the revolutionary tribunal, and from the tribunal to the guillotine, where she was executed the 19th of March 1794.

^e Playfair's History of Jacobinism, p. 585.

Hebert
attacks
Lacroix
and Dan-
ton.

Hebert aspiring, after the death of Marat, to hold the place in the public opinion which his pattern had occupied, began like him to attack the idols of the day; but he experienced a fatal difference. The court and Feuillans, whom Marat had assailed, were by birth, education, and habits rendered incapable of maintaining an equal contest with him; but when his imitator began, from resentment at not being appointed minister, to set *Le Pere Duchesne* on the enriched patriots², their susceptibility to such attacks produced his downfall. He commenced hostilities by a virulent invective against Lacroix, by some indirect strokes at Danton³, and by denouncing Barrere at the Jacobin club¹. Robespierre, who had resolved the destruction of the Cordeliers, as well as of Danton and several other of his colleagues, observed with satisfaction, that their division would render them the instruments of mutual destruction. He determined to get rid of Hebert and his associates first, as the most daring, atrocious, and dangerous. To prepare the public mind for their destruction, Camille Desmoulins, in a vein of wit which characterised his writings, exposed those deities of the day to scorn, and afterwards to hatred, by implicating them in counter-revolutionary charges, and stating that *Le Pere Duchesne* constituted the delight of Coblenz, and the only hope of Pitt⁴.

Attempts
an insur-
rection.

Hebert, alarmed for his safety, took advantage of Robespierre's illness, and endeavoured by means of the Cordeliers to excite the people against the Jacobins, but in vain. The section of Marat alone declared itself in a state of insurrection, but the rest of the city did not follow the example. Hebert,

² Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 173.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Miss Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. iii. p. 65.

⁵ Idem, vol. ii. p. 15. Conspiracy of Robespierre, p. 125.

from

from the tribune of the Cordeliers, declared that tyranny existed, and caused a veil of black crape to be thrown over the rights of man¹. These measures only precipitated his ruin: he was arrested, together with Ronfin, Vincent, and several associates, and conducted to the *Conciergerie*, tied hand and foot. The joy of the prisoners was extreme; they considered themselves secure from another second of September, a fear which had haunted them during their confinement, while these sanguinary ruffians governed the public mind. In prison, Herbert bewailed his fate in the accents of effeminate despondency². Previous to his trial, he endeavoured to avert the impending storm, by declaring, in his journal, that he was not present at the Cordeliers when the resolution passed to throw a crape over the rights of man; and that he meant not to glance at Robespierre when he attacked the enriched deputies³. His assertions were calculated to ruin others, but not to save himself. When Ronfin, his fellow-prisoner, saw the publication, he observed that it was all idle prate; and that his only chance of defence was to have produced parallel passages from the papers of Marat⁴. He was brought before the revolutionary tribunal, together with seventeen others, charged with a conspiracy, of the existence of which there was not a shadow of proof; but that did not prevent the jury from finding all the parties guilty, except one Laboureau. Herbert, petrified with terror, did not say a word in his defence. On returning to the prison, he gave way to fear and despair; he repeatedly fainted, and was at times delirious; he expressed a wish to die, yet had not that gloomy courage, the offspring

15th Mar.
1794.
Arrested.

1st Mar.
Tried,

¹ New Annual Register for 1794, p. 352. Miss Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. ii. p. 16.

² Miss Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. ii. p. 13.

³ New Annual Register for 1794, p. 352.

⁴ Tableau des Prisons sous Robespierre.

and executed.

Account
of his
wife.

10th Apr.
1794.

of desperation bordering on insanity, which leads to the commission of suicide. He went to the guillotine with the genuine and heartfelt joy of the inhabitants of Paris¹, who hoped to gain by his death a respite from the sanguinary, immoral, and disgusting scenes he was known to have excited and applauded. After his death, the Parisians ventured to wash their faces and wear clean linen; and the club of Cordeliers, after a vain attempt to conciliate the Jacobins, sunk into insignificance².

Hebert was married; his wife was unknown during his life, and afterwards only remarkable by the rapidity with which her fate followed his; by her being, like him, condemned for an imaginary conspiracy; and by her intimacy, during her confinement at the *Conciergerie*, with madame Desmoulins, widow of the man who caused the fall of her husband, which was so speedily succeeded by his own. Madame Desmoulins and she, seated on one stone in that dreary prison, frequently deplored their mutual loss, offered their affections, civilities, and consolations. They went to trial and to the scaffold together, conversed on the way with great cordiality, and took their leave of each other with an affectionate embrace³.

¹ Conspiracy of Robespierre, p. 128. Playfair's History of Jacobinism, p. 585. New Annual Register for 1794, p. 354. Tableau des Prisons sous Robespierre.

² Miss Williams's Letters in 1794, p. 21. Playfair's History, p. 622.

³ Tableau des Prisons sous Robespierre. Miss Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. ii. p. 35.

F. HENRIOT.

HENRIOT was the offspring of parents who were poor, but maintained an irreproachable character, residing in Paris. In his youth he was footman to a counsellor of parliament, named Fermont, who, pleased with his behaviour, obtained for him the place of *commis des barrières*, the emoluments of which were small, but sufficient for his support; and in which he continued till towards the end of the year 1789. Robespierre at that period became acquainted with him in the fauxbourg Saint Marceau, and he remained attached to his interests during the remainder of his life.

He made no conspicuous figure in the early periods of the revolution, but rose by degrees to be commandant of his section. In this capacity he distinguished himself by his cruelty to the priests confined in the convent of St. Firmin: he announced to them, in the most unqualified terms, that they should all be exterminated; and, on the fatal day of their massacre, exerted himself with great activity in their condemnation and execution.

At the period of insurrection, when the contest between the Mountain and the Girondists came to an issue, he was, to serve the purposes of his party, raised to the command of the national guard; and he executed his commission of overawing the con-

Origis.

2d Sept.
1793.
Assists in
the mas-
sacre.

31st May
1793.
Made
command-
er of the
national
guard.

* Conspiracy of Robespierre, p. 76. Pagès, vol. ii. p. 327.

† Barruel's History of the Clergy, Part III. p. 115. Conspiracy of Robespierre, p. 76. Pagès, &c. &c.

vention,

vention, with the greatest brutality: his watch-words were *insurrection* and *vigour*^x. The president ordered Henriot to withdraw the troops; he returned for answer, that when he had obeyed the will of the people he might attend to that of the representatives, but not before; and he prevented the members of the convention from leaving the hall, till they had passed the decree against the Brissotine party^y. The success of these services endeared him to his employers so much, that he was continued in the command of the national guard for the rest of his life.

His cruelty.

He now gave himself up to debauchery and daily ebriety^z. In the course of his employ his duty led him to visit the prisoners, towards whom his behaviour was so insulting and cruel, as to add an impression of inconceivable horror to the miseries of their situation, to deprive them of the little spirits which courage or presence of mind could afford in their doleful state, and to produce fainting, anguish, and despair^a.

He is denounced.

Henriot was denounced by the committee of general safety together with Vincent and Ronfin, and would like them have been brought to the scaffold, but he solicited the protection of Robespierre, and obtained it by promises of the most unconditional obedience. He was saved, and continued in his command, though orders for his trial had actually been signed^b. He faithfully adhered to his engagement, and was the confidential agent of the denunciations, arrests, and projects of his patron.

27th July
1794.
Arrested.

When the fall of Robespierre was in agitation, a decree for the arrestation of Henriot was obtained by Tallien. He was taken, and twice rescued by

^x Pagès, vol. ii. p. 145.

^y Histories. Miss Williams, &c. &c.

^z Etat de la France, p. 69.

^a Miss Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. i. p. 28, 29.

^b Etat de la France, p. 69.

his party. He ran about the streets, rallying as many of the national troops as he could find, and dividing them into three parties, invested the convention and committee of public safety with two of them, and sent the third to defend the *Hotel-de-ville*, where Robespierre was. This was the mistake which decided the day, and proves the weakness of the conspirators. If, instead of dividing the forces, they had brought the whole army against the convention, and Robespierre and the other deputies had suddenly resumed their seats, they might with ease have regenerated that body, by destroying the members who opposed them; or have broken it up, as incapable of regeneration. Instead of availing themselves of the moment of agitation and doubt to carry their point, they wasted some hours in harangues and consultations; during which time the troops were alienated from their leader; the citizens of Paris, apprized of the real state of affairs, rallied around the convention, who, when Henriot came again to demand their surrender, put him out of the law. Alarmed at appearances so decidedly opposite to his hopes, and at the defection of the soldiery, he returned to the *Hotel-de-ville*, where the remainder of the night was spent in tumultuous and reproachful consultation. At day-break, instead of being besiegers, they saw themselves outlawed and besieged. In vain Henriot from the window harangued the soldiers, they refused to obey his orders. The danger of their situation enraged Coffinhal to such a degree, that in his fury he threw him out of a window into the street. Dreadfully bruised by his fall, yet desirous to save his life, Henriot crept into a common sewer, where he was shortly afterwards discovered by some soldiers, who, to make him come out of his lurking-place, struck him with their bayonets and thrust out one of his eyes, which hung by the ligaments down his cheek.

Outlawed.

28th.
Thrown
out of a
window.

He was identified at the revolutionary tribunal, and executed the same day, with Robespierre and the rest of his associates. He went to the scaffold with no other dress than his under waistcoat, all over filth from the common sewer where he had lain, and blood from his own wounds. The people testified their joy in his fate by loud acclamations: many of them tauntingly told him, he looked then just as he did when he came from the prison of Saint Firmin, after the massacre of the priests. As he was going to ascend the scaffold, a by-stander snatched out the eye which had been displaced from its socket. He suffered at the age of thirty-five.

* The particulars of these transactions are collected from the Conspiracy of Robespierre, p. 302. Miss Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. iii. p. 169. 173. Pages, vol. ii. p. 219. New Annual Register for 1794, p. 378 to 382. Debates, &c.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

